University of Alberta

A Bead Box of My Own:
The Beadwork of Métis Artist Philomene Umpherville

by

Michelle Stephanie Tracy ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
Of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in

Textiles and Clothing

Department of Human Ecology

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring 2003

National Library of Canada

Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Acquisitions et services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-82219-2

Canada

University of Alberta

Library Release Form

Name of Author: Michelle Stephanie Tracy

Title of Thesis: A Bead Box of My Own: The Beadwork of Métis Artist Philomene Umpherville

Degree: Master of Arts

Year This Degree Granted: 2003

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly, or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as hereinbefore provided, neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.

Michelle S. Tracy

80 Woodbine Road,
Sherwood Park, AB
T84 4A4

April 14, 2003
Date

I was thinking why I came back to here.

Philomene Umpherville
August 2, 2000
Brochet, Manitoba

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled A Bead Box of My Own: The Beadwork of Métis Artist Philomene Umpherville by Michelle Stephanie Tracy in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts in `Textiles and Clothing`

Anne M Lambert
Professor M. Anne Lambert

Patricia A. McCormack
Dr. Patricia McCormack

Susan Berry
Dr. Susan Berry

April 11, 2003
Date of approval

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the anonymous women beadwork artists who continue to labor in obscurity bringing beauty to the lives of all those who see their work.

ABSTRACT

Mrs. Philomene Umpherville, born Philomene Lapensée in 1920 in Brochet, Manitoba, to a Métis mother and a French-Canadian father, was destined to become an exceptional, if unheralded, beadwork artist. Mrs. Umpherville's beadwork and the hundreds of patterns upon which it is based are far more complex than is usually acknowledged by Western society.

Mrs. Umpherville's Métis roots as well as her physical environment are examined for their influence on her art. The history of the community of Brochet and its ethnically diverse population contribute to her artistry as expressed in her beading and sewing. At the same time, the diversity and variations in her work testify to an individual creativity that go beyond the traditional forms of Brochet upon which she drew inspiration.

The research is grounded in Human Ecology Theory and a qualitative approach that evolved for me over a period of some 22 years. It relies on documents and archives from across Canada as well as on extensive interviews I conducted with Mrs. Umpherville and my experience as a former resident of Brochet.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would particularly like to acknowledge Philomene Umpherville and her husband Albert who so warmly took me into their home and into their lives. Philip Umpherville shared his family's genealogical research as well as his mother's gifts of beadwork over the years. Denise and Tina Umpherville both shared their mother's beadwork with me. Clifford Umpherville and his wife Sandra welcomed me into their home, making my visits to Brochet a real joy. Special thanks must also be given to their sons: Carmen for his assistance in video taping interviews and Eric for being an active assistant.

I would like to thank Professor Anne Lambert of the Department of Human Ecology who encouraged me to return to school; Dr. Patricia McCormack of the School of Native Studies who stepped into the role of faculty advisor while Professor Lambert was ill; and Dr. Susan Berry of the Provincial Museum of Alberta. Without their encouragement and critical assistance, this thesis would not have been possible.

I would thank Museums Alberta for their financial assistance in the form of an Individual Learning Grant in support of research in Ottawa at the National Archives, the Archives Deschâtelets, and the Museum of Civilization. An Imrie/Kaplan Graduate Student Award from the University of Alberta was used to cover research expenses in Ottawa. The Academic Women's Association of the University of Alberta award was applied to research related costs in Brochet.

Thank you to Dr. James A. Burns, Curator of Quaternary Paleontology, and David Gummer, Curator of Mammalogy, both of the Provincial Museum of Alberta, for their assistance in the identification of the bone tools used in hide tanning. The *Sphagnum capillifolium* identification was provided courtesy of Dr. Nat Cleavitt, University of

Alberta. Also thanks to Dr. Nancy Kerr, University of Alberta, who explained the chemistry of hide tanning.

Thanks to Judy Thompson, Curator of Western Subarctic Ethnology, Museum of Civilization in Ottawa; Judy Hall, Curator of Eastern Woodlands Ethnology, Museum of Civilization in Ottawa; and Katherine Pettipas, Curator of Native Ethnology and the Hudson's Bay Company Museum Collection, of the Museum of Man and Nature in Winnipeg for making artifacts in their collections made by Mrs. Umpherville available to me. In addition, Ed and Leah Braun, Mrs. and Mrs. Herb Smith, and Mrs. Neilla Premachuk shared their collections, knowledge, and enthusiasm.

The following archives provided photographic materials used in the course of the research and the writing of this thesis: National Archives of Canada, the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg, and the Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa. Special thanks are also extended to Annette Hamel at the Archives Deschâtelets for her assistance.

Closer to home, thanks to Larry Pearson of Alberta Community Development who provided me with office space and thanks to the memory of Mary Schur, also of Alberta Community Development, for her cheerful morning greetings. Furthermore, thanks to Gary Chen of Alberta Community Development for showing my husband the wonders of scanning and zip drives. Thanks to NorQuest College and Carol Fay for supporting my leave and encouraging life long learning. Moreover, I would like to thank Alison Graham. I enjoyed my classes with her and her continued encouragement and critique are valued. I have a special thanks to my sister, Beverly Ukrainec who gave my husband and me a home in Winnipeg, and to my mother, Mrs. Helen Ukrainec for her support. Also I am grateful to my brother John and sister-in-law Janice who helped me start re-drawing Mrs. Umpherville's patterns. Last but not least, thanks to my husband Bill Tracy without whom this thesis would never have been completed. His computer skills, his critique, and his love and encouragement will always be appreciated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

1. Building Context..1

   The Need to Know: Justification of the Research........................1

   Human Ecology Framework..5

   Aesthetic Model..11

   A Blended Beadwork Model..13

   Methodology..16

2. The Bounty of the Land..32

   Lake and Forest..32

   Caribou..37

3. Brochet Past and Present..46

   The Development of Brochet..47

   Brochet at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century........................53

   Brochet and Sandy Hills..55

   Away and Back..65

4. Métis by Birth..72

   Family Origins..72

   The Cooks on Reindeer Lake..81

   The Lapensées on Reindeer Lake..87

5. Hide Preparation Process..93

   Caribou Hide Tanning..93

Moose Hide Tanning....107

Pelt Tanning....112

6. Sewing Woman....117

Clothing of the Past....119

Caribou Parkas....124

Jackets....128

Moccasins....132

Mukluks....140

Mittens....149

Gauntlets....153

7. Beading Woman....158

Beads....164

Beading Techniques....166

Origins and Meanings....169

Drawing the Beading Pattern....214

Pattern Classifications....218

8. I Make Many Things....223

Barrettes....223

Beaded Pictures....225

Belts....227

Earrings....228

Guitar Strap....229

Inuit *Atigi*....230

Knife Sheaths....233
Purses....235
Rifle Scabbards....235
Shot Bag....237
Souvenirs....238
Tufting....239
Vests....240
Wallet....241
9. Endings and Beginnings....242
The Heritage of Who You Are....242
Where Are You From?....244
What Do You Do?....245
Retrospective....248
Future Research....250
Archival Sources....255
Bibliography....257
Appendix A: Citation for Figure 5....275

LIST OF TABLES

Page

Table 1. Sources of Inspiration from Nature....175

Table 2. Cultural Sources of Inspiration....177

Table 3. Color/Gender Correlations....220

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

Figure 1. A blended beadwork model..........17

Figure 2. Map of northeastern Saskatchewan and northwestern Manitoba showing Reindeer Lake..........33

Figure 3. Mission du Lac Caribou, 1875..........48

Figure 4. Sketch of the Lapensée trading post at Sandy Hills, ca 1930..........58

Figure 5. An abbreviated family history of Philomene Umpherville..........73-74

Figure 6. The sons and grandsons of William Hemmings Cook..........80-81

Figure 7. Pattern #222 for horizontal mukluk bands..........161

Figure 8. Pattern 23..........161

Figure 9. Pattern 140 for vamps..........162

Figure 10. Pattern 234 for vamps..........162

Figure 11. Pattern 273..........163

Figure 12. The overlaid, spot, or couched stitch..........166

Figure 13. Edging stitch..........169

Figure 14. Pattern #51..........172

Figure 15. Pattern #64..........174

Figure 16. Pattern #253..........174

Figure 17. Pattern #290..........176

Figure 18. Pattern #98..........176

Figure 19. Pattern #45..........178

Figure 20. Pattern #105..........179

Figure 21. Pattern #47..........179

Figure 22. Pattern #88..179

Figure 23. Pattern #209..181

Figure 24. Pattern #216..181

Figure 25. Pattern #142..182

Figure 26. Sketch from field notes, March 1993...................................183

Figure 27. Pattern #94..184

Figure 28. Pattern #269..185

Figure 29. Pattern #6..185

Figure 30. Pattern #197..186

Figure 31. Pattern #302..186

Figure 32. Pattern #193..188

Figure 33. Pattern #221 with Mrs. Umpherville's colour choices..................188

Figure 34. Pattern #349..190

Figure 35. Pattern #251..190

Figure 36. Pattern #101..191

Figure 37. Pattern #247..191

Figure 38. Pattern #343..192

Figure 39. Pattern #341..192

Figure 40. Pattern #90..193

Figure 41. Pattern #97..193

Figure 42. Pattern #189..193

Figure 43. Pattern #119..193

Figure 44. Pattern #337..193

Figure 45. Pattern #338..193

Figure 46. Pattern 167..195

Figure 47. Pattern #11..196

Figure 48. Pattern #21..196

Figure 49. Pattern 26a..197

Figure 50. Pattern #128..197

Figure 51. Pattern #81..198

Figure 52. Pattern #339..198

Figure 53. Pattern #17..199

Figure 54. Pattern #110..199

Figure 55. Pattern #14..200

Figure 56. Pattern #13..200

Figure 57. Pattern #19..200

Figure 58. Pattern #231..201

Figure 59. Pattern #136..202

Figure 60. Pattern #186..205

Figure 61. Horizontal top panel, Pattern #210......................................205

Figure 62. Pattern #154..209

Figure 63. Pattern #286..209

Figure 64. Pattern #10..209

Figure 65. Pattern #5..210

Figure 66. Pattern #117..210

Figure 67. Pattern #165..211

Figure 68. Pattern #80……………………………………………………………211

Figure 69. Pattern #127…………………………………………………………..212

Figure 70. Pattern #246…………………………………………………………..213

Figure 71. Pattern #255…………………………………………………………..213

Figure 72. Saskatoon berries……………………………………………………214

Figure 73. Sketch of a pattern for a beaded dhield, Philomene Umpherville……226

LIST OF PLATES

Page

Plate 1. Catch of lake trout, ca. 1998..35

Plate 2. Boat on a sled about to be pulled by snow machine, spring 1980........36

Plate 3. Caribou grazing at Brochet, Manitoba, n.d................................38

Plate 4. Albert Umpherville with a caribou, February 1955........................39

Plate 5. Eric Umpherville's first kill, 1999...43

Plate 6. St. Pierre du Lac Caribou Mission, 1894...................................49

Plate 7. Father Alphonse Gasté as identified by Mrs. Philomene Umpherville, St. Pierre du Lac Caribou, Rein-deer Lake, ca. 1894......................51

Plate 8. Hudson's Bay Company manager's house, 1924..........................56

Plate 9. Adolphe Lapensée's post at Sandy Hills, ca. 1923.........................58

Plate 10. C.S. MacDonald and Adolphe Lapensée at the Sandy Hill trading post on the Cochrane River, 1924.......................59

Plate 11. Hudson's Bay Company cruiser "Lac du Brochet", ca. 1924..............61

Plate 12. Elise Benoune and Frank Henderson in front of the Hudson's Bay Company store, ca. 1935....................................63

Plate 13. Mrs. Umpherville in a Brochet classroom, ca. 1930......................64

Plate 14. The Lapensée children, Plantagenet, Ontario, ca. 1940...................65

Plate 15. Mrs. Umpherville with friends on the hospital steps, The Pas, Manitoba, ca. 1946...66

Plate 16. Liza and Marie (Marisis) Linklater, 1927....................................84

Plate 17. Elsie Benoune (née Cook) holding Marie Cook Benoune, Wollaston Lake, Saskatchewan, ca. 1937...................................87

Plate 18. Adolphe Lapensée, 1906, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan....................88

Plate 19. Umpherville family in front of their home in Brochet, ca. 1928..........89

Plate 20. William Tracy fleshing a caribou hide, spring 1980........................95

Plate 21. Fleshing tool made by Albert Umpherville, 1980; Collection of William and Michelle Tracy 96

Plate 22. Mrs. Umpherville and Michelle Tracy cutting hair from caribou hides, spring 1980..98

Plate 23. Beamer or two handed scraper made by Albert Umpherville, 1980; Collection of William and Michelle Tracy 99

Plate 24. Scraping a caribou hide with a beamer, spring 1980........................99

Plate 25. Caribou hides drying in the sun, Brochet, Manitoba, spring 1980......100

Plate 26. Caribou hides bleaching in the sun, Lac Brochet, Manitoba, March 1993..102

Plate 27. Scraping Moose Hides at Brochet, Manitoba, Spring 1980..............108

Plate 28. Scraper made by Mr. Sewap, 1980, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy 109

Plate 29. Dog cariole – Brochet Post, Reindeer Lake, February 1, 1894.........110

Plate 30. Carriole with canvas sides, 1993, Brochet, Manitoba....................111

Plate 31. Umpherville family, 1955, Brochet, Manitoba 118

Plate 32. Group of Chipewyans in front of the mission, 1894....................125

Plate 33. Brochet Winter Carnival craft contest entries, 1980....................126

Plate 34. Rene Lapensée, ca. 1920...127

Plate 35. Caribou hide jacket, 1981, Sewn by Viola Merasty; beaded by Mary Anne Lapensée, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Catalogue #III-DD-141...129

Plate 36. Pascal Benoune, n.d..130

Plate 37. Caribou wrap-around baby moccasins, 1994, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy 138

Plate 38. Canoe style moccasins, 1980, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy..139

Plate 39. White caribou hide slippers, 1981, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Catalogue #III-DD-148, 1-2....................................140

Plate 40. Home tanned moose hide slippers, 1981, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Catalogue #III-DD-149, 1-2...............................140

Plate 41. Caribou leg skin mukluks, 1980, artist unknown, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy..................................142

Plate 42. Caribou hide mukluks, 1968, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Catalogue #III-DD-40a,b 145

Plate 43. White caribou hide mukluks, 1960s-70s, Collection of Neilla Premachuk...146

Plate 44. White caribou hide mukluks, 1960s-70s, Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature, H4-O-574...146

Plate 45. White caribou hide mukluks, 1968, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Catalogue #III-DD-144a,b....................................147

Plate 46. Caribou hide mukluks, 1969, Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature H4-O-595, a & b...148

Plate 47. Smoked moose hide mukluks, 1979, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy 149

Plate 48. White caribou hide mittens, 1979, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy 153

Plate 49. Un-smoked caribou hide gauntlets, 1960s-1970s, Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature, H4-O-568.......................................156

Plate 50. Smoked caribou hide gauntlets, 1960s-1970s, Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature, H4-O-564.......................................156

Plate 51. Smoked moose hide gauntlets, 1979, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy...157

Plate 52. White caribou hide slippers, 1980, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy..168

Plate 53. Canoe style moccasins, 1960s-1970s, Collection of Neilla Premachuk...173

Plate 54. Canoe style moccasins, 1960s-1970s, Collection of Neilla Premachuk..........180

Plate 55. Caribou hide mittens, 1980, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy..........187

Plate 56. Beaded white caribou belt, 1984, Made by Michelle Tracy and Philomene Umpherville, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy..........189

Plate 57. Thunderbird mitts, n.d., Courtesy of Sandra Umpherville..........191

Plate 58. Ptarmigan in summer plumage, ca. 1978, Collection of Herb & Ann Smith..........194

Plate 59. Ptarmigan in winter plumage, ca. 1978, Collection of Herb & Ann Smith..........194

Plate 60. Daffodil..........195

Plate 61. Beaded daffodil, 1986, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy....195

Plate 62. Woman's mukluks, 1979, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy.202

Plate 63. Vamp by Rosalie Michel, n.d..........203

Plate 64. Bill Tracy and Art Merasty, 1979..........204

Plate 65. Mukluks, 1968, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Catalogue #III-DD-40a,b..........206

Plate 66. Mukluks, 1969, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Catalogue #H4-0595..........207

Plate 67. Caribou mitten detail, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy......221

Plate 68. Moccasin vamp detail, Collection of Neilla Premachuk..........221

Plate 69. Beaded barrette, 1980, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy....224

Plate 70. Beaded hair ties, n.d., Collection of Clifford Umpherville..........224

Plate 71. Framed pair of beaded daffodils, 1986, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy..........225

Plate 72. Shield, 1982, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy..........226

Plate 73. Michelle Tracy's belt, Tina Umpherville's belt, Denise Umpherville's belt....227

Plate74. Beaded earrings with porcupine quills, 1993, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy....228

Plate 75. Guitar strap, n.d., Collection of Clifford Umpherville....229

Plate 76. Winter carnival in The Pas, Manitoba, ca. 1979....230

Plate 77. Shoofly Comer, A. P. Low Expedition, 1903-1904....231

Plate 78. Beaded *atigi*, C. S. MacDonald, 1924....232

Plate 79. R. J. Devlin Co. Ltd in Ottawa, 1924....232

Plate 80. Alfred Peterson with his wife's beadwork, Brochet, 1940....233

Plate 81. Knife sheaths 1980, 1978, 1980, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy....234

Plate 82. Rifle scabbard, ca. 1978, Collection of Herb Smith....236

Plate 83. Rifle scabbard, 1981, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy....236

Plate 84. Shot bag, 1982, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy....237

Plate 85. Five miniature mukluks, 1995, Collection of William and Michelle Tracy....238

Plate 86. Moose hair tufting, n.d., Collection of William and Michelle Tracy....239

Plate 87. Moose hair tufting, n.d., Collection of William and Michelle Tracy....239

Plate 88. Vest (front view), n.d., Collection of Philip Umpherville....240

Plate 89. Vest (rear view), n.d., Collection of Philip Umpherville....240

CHAPTER ONE

BUILDING CONTEXT

I first met Mrs. Umpherville, a Métis, in 1978 when I accepted a practice teaching assignment with Frontier School Division in Brochet, Manitoba.[1] I wanted to bring back a piece of beadwork for my husband, Bill, and Mrs. Umpherville had been recommended to me while I was still in Winnipeg. I brought him a beaded knife sheath, and then I brought him back to Brochet.

We lived in Brochet for two years (1978-1980). I taught school and Bill wrote his dissertation, acted as a substitute teacher and in general looked after our home life. Brochet is a multi-dimensional ethnic community whose residents welcome new comers if they are willing to be part of the community. Because I had already met Mr. and Mrs. Umpherville as a practice teacher, they were very welcoming to my husband and me. I felt almost from the beginning as if I had a family away from home. When Bill was unable to return to Brochet for the first four months of my second year, their friendship became even more important. They truly looked after me. I would sometimes go to their home for lunch and return to school for the afternoon much refreshed. As we didn't have telephones, Mr. Umpherville would come over and check on me to see if I was well when I didn't come to visit them. When we visited, we shared a great deal about our lives. We appreciated each other's experiences and sense of humour. At that time Brochet did not have television, so we would sometimes listen to the radio, records, or to Mr. Umpherville play the harmonica or the spoons. During our visits Mrs. Umpherville most frequently continued with her beading, and often other friends would drop in for tea and to talk. Because of experiences such as these, I was very reluctant to sever my connections with Mr. and Mrs. Umpherville and others in Brochet. I had originally wanted my first teaching experience to be an adventure. My continued relationship with Mrs. Umpherville has lead to a twenty-four year adventure in learning.

Before I left Brochet Mrs. Umpherville gave me her collection of beadwork patterns. I promised her that I would do something with them. After we left in 1980, my fascination with the beadwork created by Mrs. Umpherville did not recede but grew, and eventually my promise became a responsibility, at least in my mind. In 1993 I returned to Brochet to visit Mrs. Umpherville and to learn all that I could about her patterns.I came back in 1998 for a visit and to talk more about her beadwork. The more I thought about her work the more I began to realize that I needed the advantage of further education to give her work depth and greater meaning. In 2000 I returned as a graduate student from the University of Alberta. This thesis is the beginning of keeping my promise.

After living two years in Brochet, I realized that I had only experienced life there on a surface level. I wanted to learn more about Mrs. Umpherville and the old ways of doing things that were still being practiced, particularly beadwork, and I did do that. However when I was leaving, I realized that I didn't know what questions I should have asked. It had taken me too long to forget the questions and to learn how to listen. Consequently, I had not paid proper attention to the stories Mr. and Mrs. Umpherville and others told me. It wasn't until I started to do archival and library research that I realized the historical context or importance of people and places in those stories. An example is Buchanan Lake at the end of which Mr. and Mrs. Henry Linklater used to live. Mr. and Mrs. Umpherville and Bill and I would visit them. It was a thrill to learn that Buchanan Lake was named after Captain Angus Buchanan, whom I was able to cite in his description of Brochet in 1920, the year that Mrs. Umpherville was born. When Mrs. Umpherville talked about the naming of the lake, she spoke as if she actually knew him. I don't know if she did. She spoke in a similar manner of Father Gasté whom she certainly never knew as he had left Brochet before she was born. She knew him because members of her family had known him and had continued to speak of him. Stories about members of her family were told in a similar fashion when they were re-told to me as she was beading and I was visiting. The question of precisely when these stories took place seemed irrelevant to the telling. Indeed, it was not until I began to do archival and library research that I realized I had little idea of when things had happened.

One of the things I did know when I left Brochet was that caribou were important. Without caribou life was not very good. People brought meat for my husband and me and we were happy for it. We felt honoured and humbled by the sharing. If there was little caribou meat in town we learned about the stress that people felt. Re-frozen blackened steaks from the Bay were not tasty and quite expensive. Although Mrs. Umpherville and her family did not suffer from hunger, they were worried when meat was in short supply. Hunting and trapping stories were often told in the evenings when I would visit them. Even today when I telephone Mrs. Umpherville, it is still an important topic. I usually learn if her son went hunting, if he was successful, who else may have gone hunting, and more recently how Mrs. Linklater's digestion will only tolerate boiled caribou meat and that Mrs. Umpherville is considering this as a good dietary option. Because of its importance, she frequently beaded caribou on objects associated with the hunt. Although as a young girl she hunted, she never thought of herself as a hunter. Her husband and son, who were hunters, knew the caribou better than she did. They drew them for her and offered her advice on the colour of beads she used in her beadwork.

Understanding the natural, human built and socio-behavioural environments that Mrs. Umpherville has found herself in allows for aspects of her work to take on a greater depth and perhaps a different meaning. The hides that she tanned and used and the items that she sewed and beaded are not just caribou hides and beaded mukluks but an important expression of a person living closely connected to the land, the animals, the community, and people both historically and contemporaneously.

Her natural environment provides her food, an inspiration for design elements, and a canvas for her artistic expression as much of her beadwork is done is done on caribou leather. Understanding the herd dynamics, procurement and treatment of the hides adds depth to the understanding of her art. One begins to understand how factors such as the distance of the caribou from Brochet can affect the availability of hides, as the hunters are less willing to take up valuable space and weight on the carioles with anything other than meat.

Similarly the cultural milieu of Brochet for most of her life has been primarily Chipewyan. Mrs. Umpherville excelled in the Chipewyan style of mukluks although she hasn't ever called it that. Her mother's family of Cree Métis background were Hudson's Bay employees and her French Canadian father became a Hudson's Bay manager and later an independent trader. This family history gave her a different position in a community of primarily Chipewyan hunters and trappers. Her Aunt Elise who taught her how to bead was married to a Chipewyan. After reading Edmund Leach (1965), I came to understand that it was necessary to look at factors that affected Mrs. Umpherville over a long period of time.

As an example I would never have known the importance of Chipewyan influence on Mrs. Umpherville's life if I had only looked at the population in Brochet which was mostly non treaty and Cree when I was in residence. These aspects of her life and others will be presented in this thesis as at various times they affected her hide preparation, her concept of being first a sewer as opposed to a beader, and even to some extent what she beaded.

Mrs. Umpherville, my friend, is integral to this study. Her words and the photographs of her creations are woven into the text, but not separately identified. Both quotations and photographed objects are nevertheless expressions of her voice. What I have done is re-contextualized them. When the knowledge Mrs. Umpherville shared with me contradicted what I learned from written sources, I have presented both. Unless otherwise referenced all quotations are Mrs. Umpherville's words. In a similar fashion, all photographed objects not attributed to others were made by her. Furthermore, all non-attributed photographs were taken by my husband or me.

The Need to Know: Justification of the Research

Thousands of Native women across North America have plied their crafts for generations, their individual artistic achievements going virtually unnoticed until recently. From my observation and community contact, women like Mrs. Umpherville are respected and recognized by community members as individuals with exceptional talent. However, beadworkers have long laboured in obscurity, their names unknown and their work undervalued by the larger Canadian society. While some may argue that obscurity is the lot of many if not most artists and would-be artists, the situation is particularly trying for female Native beadworkers, as their media include fur, leather, and beads. This places their work beyond the bounds of what is commonly considered "art" in Western society.

Exploring in depth one woman's life as an artisan is an approach to research that has seldom been taken. Recently there has been a resurgence of interest in the artistic accomplishments of individual artists. The foundations of this approach were laid with Herman Haeberlin, J. A. Teit, and H. A. Robert's "Coiled Basketry in British Columbia and Surrounding Region" (*Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for 1919-1924*), Ruth Bunzel's *The Pueblo Potter: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art* (1929) and Lila O'Neal's *Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers* (1932). Interest in material culture and the individual sharply declined after these publications, however.

Attention to material culture and the individual began to reassert itself in studies of the pottery of the Southwestern Pueblos as early as Alice Marriot's 1948 biography of Maria Martinez, *Maria: The Potter of San Ildefonso*. This renewed interest, however, would not be widely shared until several decades later. *Seven Families in Pueblo Pottery* (Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, 1974) is illustrative of this more recent trend. The focus on Pueblo pottery has expanded into other tribal groups, as exemplified by Russell Hartman and Jan Musial's *Navajo Pottery, Traditions and Innovations* (1987).

Individual basket weavers have also received recent attention through the scholarly works of Mary Dodds Schlick's *Columbia River Basketry, Gift of the Ancestors, Gift of the Earth* (1994); Helga Teiwas' *Hopi Basket Weaving*, (1996); Marvin Cohodas' *Basket Weavers for the California Curio Trade, Elizabeth and Louise Hickox*, (1997); Sarah Hill's *Weaving New Worlds* (1997), and Greg Sarris's *Mabel McKay, Weaving the Dream* (1994).

Ira Jacknis contributed to the study of Native artistic production by the publication of *Carving Traditions of Northwest California* (1995) with an inclusion of Isabel Kelly's *The Carver's Art of the Indians of Northwestern California* (1930). By working with two contemporary carvers, Jacknis was able to demonstrate the growth and revitalization of an art form that at one time was seen as dying.

The identification of individual Native artists working in a bead medium has been slow. Beadwork has been studied by Kate Duncan and Eunice Carney in *A Special Gift: Kutchin Beadwork Tradition* (1988) and by Duncan in her seminal work, *Northern Athapaskan Art: A Beadwork Tradition* (1989). Duncan directly identifies four artists and suggests the identity of another three whose work is featured among the beaded objects shown in over 125 illustrations.

Until recently the inability to document a given piece of beadwork properly was as likely the result of a lack of will as it was a lack of resources. Collectors did not bother to pursue an artist's name because it was assumed the artwork was simply the product of a communal tradition (Price 1989: 104). Sherry Racette has summarized the situation while reviewing Kate Duncan's application of cognitive theory to explain what she had identified as a continuing simplification of Déné beadwork over time.

> By privileging a particular style, scholars have not given the women who produced this work their full status as artists. The application of visual perception theory to explain an increasing move towards a less detailed floral style over time neglects more obvious explanations. Artists do not merely replicate the artistic forms which came before them. [Racette 2001: 184]

Racette adds:

> Metis women, and a small but growing group of men, continue to create important artistic works in the form of clothing and decorative arts, which are treated differently than other art forms such as painting and sculpture. Material is still being collected in communities and sold with no record being kept of the artist, whose essential role is forgotten the moment the object leaves the artist's hands. Many important artists have passed away and their

> outstanding contributions to the artistic development and cultural persistence of Metis people has not been documented, analysed or recognized. [Racette 2001: 187-188]

Catherine Mattes has also offered the following on Métis art.

> Being classified as utilitarian or "tourist art", therefore unworthy of detailed research on the maker, the majority of historic artisans are nameless, and tracing their work and creative history can often be impossible. [Mattes 2001: 189-190]

However, within museums there has developed a movement to identify or attribute individual pieces to particular makers and/or artists. For example, by working with information from an historic photograph, Lessard (1991: 70-74) clearly illustrated the possibility of identifying a beadworker within an historical context, even though he was forced to work with a number of assumptions. This exercise added a depth to our knowledge of Cheyenne River Sioux culture and one woman's (Edith Claymore) contribution to it. Lessard (1991: 74) stated, "It is rare when we can isolate the creative output of a single Indian craft worker; it is **rarer still** when we can put a name and a face to the artist who produced such striking beaded images" (emphasis mine). Yet this is precisely what my work with Philomene Umpherville does.

The identification of Métis artists in particular has also progressed, perhaps because scholars have recently become more interested in Métis culture and historical experiences. Theodore Brasser (1985: 226-227) acted as an early proponent of this endeavour when he recognized the work of Flora Loutit of Fort Chipewyan, Alberta as a Métis woman who "[set] the fashion of the whole North" around 1900 (Cameron 1912: 321). In examining the Cook Collection held by the National Park Service, Agate Basin National Monument, Thomas Myers (1993: 66) was able to attribute a pair of moccasins to Eulalia (Lalee)

Garner, whose father was French and mother Sioux. As well, he was able to connect Mrs. Baptiste (Julia) Garnier to a vest, leggings, and a jacket. Mrs. Garnier was the daughter of a French-Canadian trader/trapper. Sharon Blady (1996: 137-140) has attempted with limited success to identify the Métis creators of two pieces of beadwork held by *Le Musee de St. Boniface* in Winnipeg. Most recently the inclusion of a Métis exhibit in the as-yet-to-be-opened Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D. C. has prompted continued scholarship along these lines.

By establishing the identity of the individual artist, the scholar not only provides a type of affirmation to the individual, she also potentially contributes to an understanding of the cultural dynamics of the group with whom the artist resides. Specifically, the identification of an individual allows the scholar to explore more fully the richness and depth of creativity of the artist than would be possible solely with artifacts, which are themselves only the end products, or perhaps better, the shadow of the creative process. Further, specific cross-cultural influences may be successfully mapped based on individual artistic expressions.

Little work has been done with the Métis community in northern Manitoba. James G. E. Smith conducted field research in Brochet between August 1967 and August 1968 and from September 1969 to January 1970 as part of a research programme at the National Museum of Man (Smith, 1981a, 1981b, 1979, 1978a, 1978b, 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1976d, 1976e, 1975a, 1975b, 1970). Smith was employed for the remainder of his career as the Curator of Ethnology at the Museum of the American Indian in New York City. Although his study was primarily directed at the Barren Lands Band of Chipewyan in the Brochet area, it also included the Crees of Brochet (Smith, 1981a, 1976b, 1975b). He collected for both museums, as well as for himself, including beaded artifacts made by Mrs. Umpherville. Some of his personal collection may reside in the Museum of the American Indian in New York City.[2] The latter will soon be moved to Washington, D.C. Slides taken by Dr. Patricia McCormack of the collection housed in the Museum of the American Indian and of Smith's personal collection are held at the Provincial Museum of Alberta. Smith did not address the resident Métis population of Brochet nor did he address the artistic expression of Métis, Cree, or Chipewyan women.

W. A. Tracy (1991) has commented on craft production in the Boreal forest in general as well as in Brochet in particular (1989). Barbara Hail and Kate Duncan (1989) have also addressed beadwork in northern Manitoba in *Out of the North, the Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University*. Judy Thompson (1994 & 1987) has contributed to the literature of Dene clothing; however, with the exception of her 1990 *Pride of the Indian Wardrobe, Northern Athapaskan Footwear*, Thompson has not addressed specific Athapaskan artifacts from Northern Manitoba. Theodore Brasser (1985, 1976, 1975, and 1970) and Judy Thompson (1983) have also added supportive research on Métis art, although they have not addressed northern Manitoba in particular. Julia Harrison (1985) has provided an overview of Métis history in *Metis, People Between Two Worlds*.

By conducting research on the life and work of one beadworker – Mrs. Philomene Umpherville – I have attempted to add to our knowledge of the artistic creativity of the Métis people of the Subarctic of northern Manitoba. I have identified specific inspirational, economic, and social influences on her work, which may be applicable to our knowledge of other beadworkers in similar circumstances. Finally, by having proceeded with this project, I am assisting an artist who is both exceptional in her talent and ordinary in her circumstances. She lives in an isolated, economically depressed community and has become pro-active in gaining recognition for her work, partially through her participation in this thesis.

Human Ecology Framework

Sontag and Bubolz (1988: 118) define human ecology as "the study of humans as social, physical biological, beings in interaction with each other and with their physical, socio-cultural, aesthetic and biological environments and with the material and human resources of these environments". Westney, Brabble and Edwards (1988: 129) reiterate this definition of human ecology as "the scientific and holistic study of human beings, their environments, and human-environmental interactions". Sontag and Bubolz provide yet another definition in greater detail.

> Human ecology is concerned with interaction and interdependence of humans (as individuals, groups, and societies) with the environment. A key process is adaptation by humans of and to their environments. Survival, quality of life, and conservation of the environment, including the sustained yield of natural resources, depend on the ways and means by which humans achieve adaptation. Attention is given to the importance of selective perception, values, decision making, and human actions as they influence adaptation and selection and use of resources as means toward attainment of goals, satisfaction of needs, and quality of the environment.
>
> The human ecological perspective is unique in that it emerged as a perspective in several social science disciplines as well as in the arts and humanities.
>
> [Bubolz and Sontag 1993: 421-422]

John Visvader (1986: 120), in his article Philosophy and Human Ecology, speaks of "interconnectedness". He notes that, "It is very difficult to be an isolationist, to merely attend to our own business -- other people no longer allow us this luxury". Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979: 3) described the individual's environment as "… a set of nested structures, each inside the next like a set of Russian dolls." Bubolz and Sontag (1993: 432) have drawn on this model to construct a model of the family with the family at the center and "three analytically distinct, but interrelated environments, the natural physical-biological; the human built; and the socio-cultural." Although this model has its origins in Western culture, it is cross-cultural in nature in that it can accommodate non-western perceptions. It allows a researcher to view phenomena holistically.

Human ecology is rooted in the interconnectedness of individuals and their environments whether near or far. It also recognizes influences one environment may have on another. Basing her work on a Human Ecological framework, Betty Crown (McFadyen, Capjack, and Crown 1998: 122-123) proposed a "Clothing in Relation to the Human Ecosystem" model. In this model humans are at the center of an ecosystem and interact with multiple components of the environment on near, intermediate and distal levels. Here, clothing is defined as part of the near environment. Crown further refined this model in which "clothing creates a 'micro-environment' by forming an outer boundary of the near environment, or a 'barrier' between the person and the various types of environments, both physical and socio-behavioral" (Betty Crown, personal communication, January 26, 2000 and March 3, 2003). In this framework clothing mediates a person's interaction with her various environments even as the various environments interact with each other. All these interactions may directly or indirectly influence the individual at the center of the model. The beaded garments that Mrs.

Umpherville creates mediate her interaction with her natural, human constructed, and socio-behavioral environments.

Aesthetics Model

The aesthetics model presented by Ann Marie Fiore, Patricia Anne Kimle and Josephine Maria Moreno complements the Human Ecology Model and the derivative Clothing as a Near Environment model. Their consideration of aesthetics includes the creator, creative process, object, appreciation process and appreciator. Their definition of aesthetics "refers to both a quality of an object and a state of being" (Fiore, Kimle, & Moreno 1996a: 30). They define aesthetics as "the study of human response to the non-instrumental quality of the object or event; specifically aesthetics addresses the activated internal process, the object or event's multi-sensory characteristics, and the psychological and socio-cultural factors affecting the response of the creator or appreciator to the object or event" (Fiore, Moreno, & Kimle 1996: 178).

This definition stresses the non-physical quality of an object and specifically the complex internal processes that the creator, and later the appreciator, undergoes. This applies to Mrs. Umpherville as the creator when she selects elements and colours to create her patterns. It also applies to the sewn item itself. Its form and finish are part of her overall aesthetic. The definition also considers an object to be multi-sensory, and includes the olfactory sense. For those who like the smell of smoked moose hide, it may be the deciding factor in the decision to purchase an item. This interaction exemplifies the appreciator and the appreciator process, which are also considered in this definition.

The creator of an aesthetic object formulates the mental image of the object and then produces it. Within the creator there exist psychological and socio-cultural factors that affect her (Fiore, Kimle, & Moreno 1996a: 32-34). In discussing the creative process, Fiore, Kimle and Moreno stress the artistic multi-dimensional internal process from the inception of an aesthetic idea (concept) through to the completed product. They define five separate components: logical mental, unconscious mental, emotional, sensual, and spiritual (Fiore, Kimle, & Moreno 1996a: 35-37).

Mrs. Umpherville as a creator has had many socio-cultural factors affect her. Her own multi-ethnic background and her continuous contact with Chipewyans and Euro-Canadians have affected how she perceives and represents her reality in the decorative manifestations of her creations. For example, she sees her beadwork as different from Chipewyan beadwork because she strives to use colours that represent the natural environment rather than fanciful combinations. This in her opinion makes her beadwork superior. In other instances, she will acquiesce to the decorative selections of her Euro-Canadian customers.

Economics are also an important element in her socio-cultural framework. Cash has been and is a scarce commodity in Northern communities, such as Brochet, as documented by David Ross and Peter Usher (1986) in their case study "The Village Economy: The Informal Economy as a Way of Life" in their book *From the Roots Up: Economic Development as if Community Mattered.* Mrs. Umpherville bought her smoked moose hide and although she could tan caribou hide, she frequently purchased it from Chipewyan sources. She sold her finished products both within and outside the community. Her artistic endeavors therefore involved her in a wide network of people. The network was extended further as she taught her skills to young people in her community and to outsiders such as myself.

Fiore *et al.* consider the aesthetic object in relation to its formal aspects, including the qualities of the senses. They also examine the expressive and referential aspects of the object. The expressive aspects refer to the feelings and emotions that an object conveys, whereas referential aspects refer to the symbolic qualities of an object that transmit information about the world (Fiore, Kimle, & Moreno 1996b: 98-103).

Unlike the deceased or anonymous creators of the majority of beadwork found in museums, Mrs. Umpherville is able to discuss her creative process. She can tell us how she makes connections and logical choices. In some cases design sources are acknowledged, and family and appreciator influences accounted for. With Mrs. Umpherville, the sensual component becomes obvious as she holds a skein of beads in her hands and lets them fall on a piece of smoked hide or a white caribou hide vamp. The manner in which she has acted when beading and when discussing her beading suggests a sensual, emotional and perhaps even a spiritual component to her work.

Mrs. Umpherville's beadwork may be evaluated by looking at its line, color and composition. It may also be appraised for the tightness of the beadwork, and the thickness (or thinness) and softness of the hide (Fiore, Kimle, & Moreno 1996b: 98). In addition, Berlyne (in Fiore, Kimle, & Moreno 1996b: 99), states that stimulus properties of complexity, novelty, and "surprisingness" affect aesthetic response. Complexity refers to the use of various similar and different elements within the pattern, whereas novelty relates to the similarities and differences between present and past aesthetic objects. Finally, Berlyne defines "surprisingness" as the relationship between the "stimulus", i.e. patterns or aesthetic objects, and expectations. One of the most delightful patterns that Mrs. Umpherville uses on children's wrap-around moccasins is like jellybeans. Its novelty is related to the use of pastel crescent shapes in a circle on the vamp. It immediately makes one think of jellybeans and childhood. The "surprisingness" is the relationship between the stimulus (jellybean candy pattern) and the aesthetic object (wrap-around moccasins) and what the appreciator expects of "Indian" beadwork.

Finally, Fiore *et al.* (Fiore, Moreno, and Kimle 1996: 169-184) consider the appreciator process and the appreciator. Basically, the appreciator process has the same components as the creative process in that the cognitive psychological, emotional, sensual and spiritual elements are considered. The appreciator, like the creator, is affected by psychological and socio-cultural factors that affect her selection, preference and evaluation of aesthetic objects. The appreciator process is an active response to the qualities of an object.

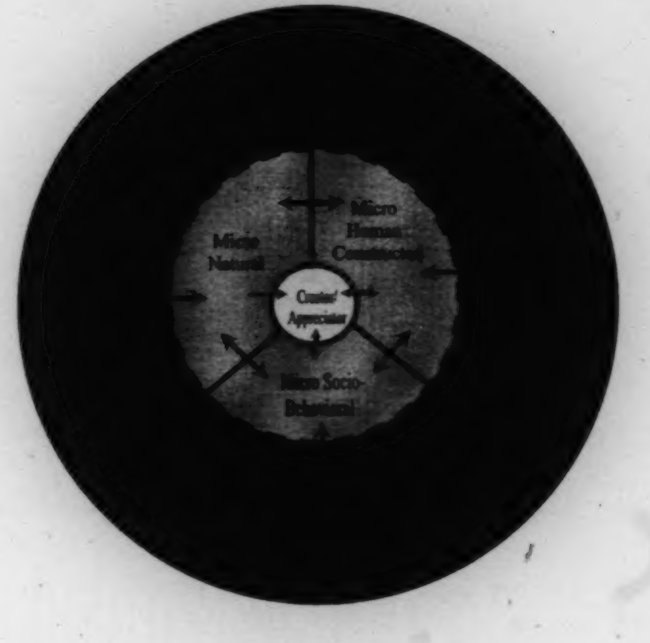
From the discussion and application of Fiore *et al.'s* model on aesthetics for clothing and textiles, it can be seen that there is an intimate relationship among an artist and the aesthetic object she produces, and the appreciator. The multidimensionality within each category allows consideration from multiple perspectives in order to obtain a more complete picture. Furthermore, even though separate categories can be distinguished, they are closely inter-related as are the elements of processes within.

A Blended Beadwork Model

In considering my study, I have adapted a version of the Human Ecology model, the Clothing as a Near Environment model, and the Aesthetic model to help me understand some aspects of my research. Figure 1 illustrates the distinct but inter-related micro and macro environments of the creator/appreciator. The broken bold line indicates beaded articles as the interface between the individual and her environments.

The centre of the model remains the individual, in this case the creator or the appreciator. Immediately surrounding the creator/appreciator is the micro-environment which is partitioned into three sections and includes the natural, human built, and the socio-behavioral environments. These three sections refer to the immediate local community, including ethnic communities, to which the creator or appreciator belongs. For example, in the instance of the creator, the psychological and socio-cultural factors that affect her would fit into the social behavioral and human built environments. This model includes the natural environment. In research on this Métis woman's beadwork, the natural environment is a very important aspect of who she is and therefore is important in the creative process and to the object that she produces.

Figure 1.



A Blended Beadwork Model

In the instance of the appreciator, the micro-environment would be the local community, including her ethnicity. Psychological and socio-cultural factors once again can be accommodated by the social-behavioral and human built categories. The natural environment may only marginally affect the appreciator on a daily basis. However, psychological/socio cultural factors that affect the appreciator also guide her perceptions of the natural environment, which in turn will also affect her sense of aesthetics.

The broken line represents the aesthetic object that the creator makes and that the appreciator assesses. Furthermore, the breaks in the line signifying the aesthetic object become important in that they can indicate the expansion and retraction of the micro-environment to accommodate various responses to the aesthetic object. This line also may be considered an ethnic boundary marker following Fredrick Barth (1969), wherein the beaded clothing and other beaded objects act as a boundary marker or the point where the influences of the macro-society interact with the creator and her immediate environment.

The area outside the broken line represents the non-local or macro-environment. Depending upon the study, it could include the larger society(ies) in which the creator finds herself. In other words, it could be Manitoba, Canada, or even another part of the world. Here too, the socio-behavioral, human built, and natural environments make an impact on both the creator and the appreciator. For example, a man in Flagstaff, Arizona, may watch a film on the Festival du Voyageur in Winnipeg, Manitoba. While watching the film he notices men wearing beaded, floral fur trimmed mukluks, an image that intrigues him. As an appreciator his aesthetic sense has been affected by his socio-behavioral environment on the macro level. Furthermore, this man may later relate to the aesthetic qualities of a smoke tanned beaded pair of mukluks in a shop because he previously incorporated the images and perceptions of the film clip and found it a pleasant stimulus. Technology from the human built environment brought images of men wearing floral decorated footwear (socio-behavioral), which then impacted on an appreciator in a very distant place.

The creator/appreciator, and the micro-and macro-environments experience dynamic inter-relationships, illustrated by the arrows on the model. The direct inter-relationships between the individual and the various environments will have an effect on the aesthetic process in which the creator/appreciator engages. Furthermore, the interrelationships between the environments will have ripple effects that will also affect the aesthetic processes of the creator/appreciator. For example, the source of inspiration for Mrs. Umpherville for a particular floral element was a Royal Ontario Museum poster that her daughter gave her. Her daughter selected this poster precisely because she was familiar with her mother's aesthetic tastes. Mrs. Umpherville in turn in time created a beaded belt inspired by an illustration on the poster for another daughter. The dynamics among the family members (micro-environment), the poster, and the creator influenced the creative process. The poster, the product of a human built environment, interacted with the socio-behavioral environment to influence the creative process. This interaction included the macro-environment that provided the production and sale of the poster and the transportation to access it. Aspects of the creator/appreciator's environments will affect the cognitive, sensual, emotional and spiritual components of their aesthetic processes.

In addition, the aesthetic object itself is an important medium, which may interact with the macro- and micro-environments. For example, within the micro-environment (family and local community), people see that an aesthetic object (a pair of mukluks, for instance) are appreciated by the visiting doctor. The doctor does not have to buy the beaded mukluks; all he needs to do is make a comment on an aspect of the aesthetics inherent in the mukluks. It could be something like, "I love the color combination on your kid's mukluks" or "I love the smell of smoked hide and look at the even color of the hide". The innocent aesthetic related comment may have a ripple effect within the community as members who sew and bead and other members will look at the child's mukluks with renewed interest. They may make mental notes of what the doctor found particularly aesthetically pleasing and store them away as insights into what others may also find pleasing. These concepts may be drawn upon later and affect not only the individual creator's work but potentially aesthetic objects produced by other sewers and beaders in the community as well.

The inhabitants of the macro-environment are also affected by the aesthetic aspects of a beaded object when an appreciator from outside buys or is gifted one. This is particularly true if the appreciator is a person of influence. For example, when Pierre Trudeau was seen wearing a beaded jacket on television, many Canadians looked at beadwork in general differently. When Steven Segal wore one, North Americans and perhaps others as well were affected in their aesthetic processes. Even a political figure like Ovide Mercredi, who does not have the same national and international prominence as the previous examples, will influence macro aesthetics when he is seen wearing beaded mukluks in the Winnipeg airport. This effect is filtered back to the creators and may inspire new creations.

If I consider the model in concentric circles with the macro-environment and its components as the outer ring and the creator/appreciator as the interior circle, I can clearly see how the aesthetic object and the local or micro environment filters the effects of the distant environment on the individual. This is particularly useful in a cross-cultural study of aesthetically pleasing objects where the creator is a member of an ethnic minority group (Métis) living within a dominant society (Canadian).

The Blended Beadwork model, based on the Human Ecology, the Clothing as a Near Environment, and the Aesthetic models, provides a holistic guide for my research. It has aided me in organizing information on Mrs. Umpherville's aesthetics in a manner that would allow me to fit it into a larger context.

Methodology

I initially considered a primarily quantitative approach to the study of Mrs. Umpherville's beadwork patterns. In considering a quantitative research approach, I saw that the data on colour and designs that were appropriate to particular age groups and gender could overshadow a greater cultural dynamic. I decided, therefore, that this approach would be too limiting. A qualitative approach, on the other hand, allowed me to maximize my opportunity to work intensively with one individual within the context of the dynamics of her culture. Unforeseen factors in everyday life that allow for a better understanding of the culture to which the individual belongs would be better revealed in a qualitative study.

Qualitative research is a "broad approach to the study of social phenomena; its various genres are naturalistic and interpretative and they draw on multiple methods of inquiry" (Marshall and Rossman 1999: 2). It is holistic, fluid, flexible and reflective. The qualitative approach uses "multiple methods that are interactive and humanistic' (Rossman & Rallis 1998: 8).

Marshall and Rossman (1999: 2) describe a qualitative researcher as "intrigued with the complexity of social interactions as expressed in daily life and with the meanings the participants themselves attribute to these interactions". The researcher works in a natural setting ("in the field") and may work in libraries, museums and archives. This enables the researcher to study the words, actions, interactions and history of the "informant" in a broad context so that an in-depth knowledge of layered meanings emerges (Marshall & Rossman 1999; Creswell 1998; Rossman & Rallis 1998). My research methodology attempts to respond to this premise. I rely heavily on ethnographic research traditions as discussed by Boyle (1994), Hammersley & Atkinson (1983), and Muecke (1994).

The qualitative approach allows for flexibility, which is essential in cross cultural situations. An individual who is beginning to conduct research may not be privileged to receive the expected responses to her questions until the informant feels that she is ready for this information. Information may be presented in a format that the informant feels is appropriate but is unfamiliar to the researcher (Cruikshank 1998: 46-47). It is not that the informant is trying to be difficult, but her epistemological view may be very different. She may feel she needs to confirm that the researcher possesses the background knowledge required to receive and understand the information.

The detail that is involved in ethnographic study is intensified when working with one participant, the subject of this case study. The case study is not so much a methodological approach as it is a definition of that which is to be studied. The case is a specific bounded system. That is, certain features fall within this bounded system while others fall outside (Stake 1998: 86-87 and 1994: 236-237). Robert Stake (1998: 88 and 1994: 237) characterizes an intrinsic case study as a "study undertaken because one wants better understanding of [a] particular case. It is not undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but because, in all its particularity and ordinariness, this case itself is of interest". Robert Stake (1998: 99 and 1994: 242) has found that "the bulk of case study work is done by people who have intrinsic interests in the cases". The researcher's intrinsic interests lead her to the case that appears to offer the "*opportunity to learn*" (Stake 1998: 101 and 1994: 243). Indeed, the greater the opportunity to learn, the greater the intrinsic interest in the case. My "opportunity to learn" about Mrs. Umpherville and her art has been strongly instrumental in my selection of a research topic.

My field research is largely based on standard participatory observation methodology. However, unlike much participant observation as practiced in anthropological field situations, my study is based on approximately 24 years of personal knowledge of my informant, Mrs. Umpherville. During this time our mutual interest in beadwork has led to an empathy or a connectedness where we have learned to adjust to each other's thoughts and expressions as a comfort level was established and nuances were deciphered (Belenky *et al* 1986: 102-119). The elements of this relationship strongly influenced my selection of participant observation as a primary methodology.

My initial contact with Mrs. Umpherville was between 1978 and 1980 when I taught school in Brochet. It was during this period that I first became a friend with Mrs. Umpherville and she taught me some of the traditional skills she had acquired over her lifetime, including caribou hide tanning, beading, drying meat and making pemmican.

I have since maintained that friendship through visits to Brochet, by hosting her visits to my home in Alberta, and by meetings in The Pas and Winnipeg. I have enlarged my participation within her immediate family and have become friends with her youngest daughter, Denise, and her sons Clifford and Phillip. I judge my acceptance into the family circle by a comment made by her daughter to her boyfriend upon the occasion of their first visit to my home. After dinner, I showed my guests a belt which Mrs. Umpherville had made for me. I knew at the time that she had also made similar belts for two of her three daughters. Her daughter's immediate reaction upon seeing the belt was to turn to her friend and say, "See! I told you she was family!"

The fieldwork was built upon this intimate relationship. I stayed with Mrs. Umpherville and her family and shared in family roles. Furthermore, Mrs. Umpherville accepted social invitations within the community on my behalf, and guided me to necessary visits I had omitted. The time that many researchers require to establish contacts and gain confidence was not an issue. While working or visiting our conversation was unstructured, but often very informative to my area of interest. During these times I had the opportunity to guide our conversation and record the relevant notes at the first opportune moment.

I devised more formal interview questions for eliciting detailed responses regarding the specifics of her work, such as the identification of the colours associated with particular beading patterns. These structured interview questions required deletions and additions as the fieldwork progressed and are best thought of as a guide for me to be confident that I had not inadvertently failed to address any of the details involved in the process of artistic production.

Mrs. Umpherville was receptive to a more semi-structured but open-ended interview process where discussion about her work was the central topic of conversation. In these interview situations, she sometimes took a lead hand and directed the conversation to topics that she thought I needed to understand or had imperfectly understood. I have found this emergent approach far more productive than attempting to impose a rigid questionnaire. Note taking at this time was not only accepted, but expected. I shared some of my written notes with her, especially if I was not sure that I had understood something or she wasn't sure that I had. A tape recorder and a video recorder were used to record some of these interviews. After a few shaky starts, Mrs. Umpherville became very enthusiastic about the use of the tape recorder and particularly the video recorder. She particularly enjoyed seeing herself on tape when I played back a recorded session with her. The sincerity of her enthusiasm is attested to by her insistence that selected sessions be taped in either format. Since my research focused on Mrs. Umpherville's beading patterns and her sewing, much of my data is descriptive in nature and therefore lent itself well to audio and audio visual recording.

Oral tradition in our discourse was also important. Oral tradition refers to "a body of material retained from the past and known to elders [and] a process by which material has been handed down to the present" (Cruikshank 1991: 141). The stories that Mrs. Umpherville told me of her past added new information about influences on her work by others and the nature of the times. Cruikshank not only recognizes the addition of new facts through oral tradition but also notes that it may challenge more widely held historic facts. She goes on to say that these stories reflect the worldviews of their tellers and encompass layers of meaning (1991: 141). The combination of Mrs. Umpherville's memory with the use of illustrations and written records offer different perspectives on existing accounts (Cruikshank 1991: 135). By incorporating a consideration of Mrs. Umpherville's life and community into the analysis of her beading patterns, I attempt to bring a holistic and multifaceted approach to my research.

An important aspect of her oral tradition is her life history. Life histories are documentary devices that have been used to represent "the characteristic formative experiences of persons in a particular culture, through the case of a specific individual or family" (Marcus & Fisher 1999: 57-58). Experimental contemporary life histories attempt to mediate the relationships between anthropologists and participants in their research and to reveal the process and viewpoints that construct the life history. The researchers do not attempt to force a life history into an inappropriate Western framework that may limit or change meaning. They emphasize

> the native conventions, idioms, or myths that compose the ideas of life histories or similar meaningful narratives about individual experience, growth, the self, and emotions, as they are formed in conversations and interviews of fieldwork. [Marcus & Fisher 1999: 58]

Although I have included the local conventions of speech as they are spoken, I also offer interpretations where meanings are hidden or obscure. For example, many years ago in Brochet, I heard a child say in an accusing voice to another, "You talk for nothing." I was amused and intrigued and so pursued an explanation for this quip with a friend who was from the community and from within the culture. I had interpreted the statement as an accusation that the second child had been uttering empty words on a topic on which she had no authority to speak. My friend provided a long explanation on the inappropriateness of small talk and how White people overuse it. The explanation was in turn revealing of the many quiet evening visits I would receive from local people who would come to have a cup of tea, look at some books, speak very few words, and leave. Although I was comfortable with the quiet visits, I recognized them as very different from those I was used to in the "South".

Sidney Mintz (1996: 299) states that even if fieldwork is limited to one informant, there is great benefit in being able to observe the informant interacting with other group members. He suggests that if the researcher lacks sufficient knowledge of the informant's community and culture, she may develop more confidence in her information by not precluding broader interviewing or the study of the informant's community.

The interactions between Mrs. Umpherville and other members of the community have made an impression on me over the years and continue to do so. I was able to integrate into my research informal interviews with her contemporaries and with women whom she influenced in their beading. A private trader formerly located in Brochet and family members have offered their views and stories of life in Brochet. My research deals with distinctions that are personal and unique as well as with the culturally typical. These distinctions may blur as I try to illustrate how Mrs. Umpherville has lived within the conventions or socio-cultural forces of her community (Mintz 1996: 300-301).

Aids such as photographs, pictures in books on beadwork or Native clothing, and existing videotapes of Mrs. Umpherville were used. In photo elicitation the images stimulate and help to guide the interview (Harper 1994: 410). The interviewer listens and the participant becomes the expert. Mrs. Umpherville requested that I bring the archival photographs I found in Ottawa, so that she could see them. Her insights into the images have helped me establish an historical context for her life in Brochet as a beadworker.

Participant observation and interviews were augmented through historical research using both primary and secondary sources. Particular use was made of historic photographs. Mrs. Umpherville made a number of family photographs available to me. This assisted in establishing her identity as a person. I also found twenty photographs of Brochet and its environs from the National Archives in Ottawa. Members of the Geological Survey of Canada and the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys took many of the photographs. One of these photographs is of C. S. McDonald and Mrs. Umpherville's father (Adolphe Lapensée) at an outlying trading post on the Cochrane River (Plate 10). I obtained fifteen additional historic photographs from the Archives Deschâtelets in Ottawa. Twenty photographs were obtained from the Manitoba Provincial Archives and others were found in the Archives at the National Museum of Civilization and at the Provincial Archives of Alberta. The private photographs and those from these archives have allowed me to illustrate several aspects of Mrs. Umpherville's life, including the house in which she was born (Plate 8) and the clothing worn by Chipewyan, Cree, and Métis residents of Brochet during her formative years (Plates 34 and 36). It is highly unusual to be able to photo-document the life of a Métis or Native artist so clearly.

Another aid that was used was the beaded artifacts in her possession made by either herself or other women. Mrs. Umpherville's comments were very beneficial in my understanding of nuances of terms she used in reference to her own work.

I searched the register of baptisms, births, weddings and deaths for Brochet held in the Archives Deschâtelets without success. Genealogical research at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives has also yielded little in the way of results. I attempted to access church records in Pelican Narrows, Saskatchewan, where the maternal side of Mrs. Umpherville's family last resided before moving to Brochet early in the twentieth century, only to discover that the records prior to 1933 were held in The Pas, Manitoba. While these records are not available to the public, for a minimal fee an employee of the archives completed the required research. It not only included cross referencing of birth, death, and marriage certificates, but also details of family histories as kept by the priests in separate records.

Historic photographs are complemented by more contemporary shots of Brochet and its environs. Many of these more modern images were made available to me by Sandra and Clifford Umpherville. In addition, an audio-visual tape was utilized as a research tool to record the kinetics of her work as well as the resources of her environment.

Another approach in this study is the examination of the material culture produced by Mrs. Umpherville. These artifacts consist primarily, although not exclusively, of beaded moccasins, mukluks, gauntlets, and mittens. Secondary items include belts, knife sheaths, gun cases, and so forth. The holdings of three museums and nine private collections, including those of a free trader in Brochet, have been documented. As well, an additional eleven museums were contacted across Canada and six in the United States without results. Similarly, an open letter was sent through the Frontier School Division's newsletter to teachers who had taught in Brochet and might have purchased Mrs. Umpherville's work. This effort also produced no results. The beaded patterns on selected artifacts are compared to Mrs. Umpherville's statements about the ideal use of colour, fur, gender, and age.

Mrs. Umpherville made her collection of over 360 beading patterns available to me, including data on pattern origins, colours used, gender appropriateness and the type of garments to which the pattern would be applied. This data bank, absolutely unique in its size and accessibility, allows for a close examination of the inspiration and development of the artist's work. While it is not practical to utilise all of this data in my thesis, selected patterns are illustrated to augment the discussion of particular artifacts and to illustrate the range of inspirational sources as found within the sphere of Mrs. Umpherville's family and friends. Initially in 1993, as we discussed each pattern in her collection, I assigned a number to it. These identification numbers are included with the re-drawn images within this thesis.

The path to envisioning this project as a qualitative ethnographic case study has been long and not always clear. However, as part of my formal university studies it has gained clarity. In documenting and analyzing the artistic achievements of Mrs. Umpherville, I am able to go beyond the raw data on appropriate colours, applicable gender, age grades, interpretation and inspiration of beading patterns. By integrating and using an array of approaches and methods, I am able to give these cultural artifacts a greater depth of meaning by linking them to the person who created them. By including portions of her life history and placing her within a historical/cultural context of intersecting cultural traditions, the significance of her work gains new depth.

Sometimes our voices blend as a natural outcome of years of friendship. Our shared knowledge has become melded in my mind. At other times what I have observed from living in the community and learned from libraries, archives, and museums clearly stands apart. By sharing of ourselves, we have influenced each other throughout the years. This study stands as a testament to that sharing and trust.

---

[1] Brochet has been recognized historically by a number of name variations. "Brochet" was not formally adopted until 1924. Before then the most common nomenclature was Fort du Brochet. However, Bell referred to the community as Lac Du Brochet in 1881. It was called Du Brochet on a map produced by the Department of the Interior in 1883. In 1900 the Department of the Interior labelled it Lac le Brochet and in 1904 the Toronto Lithography Company labelled it Du Brochet Post. Ernest Voorhis (1930: 41) referred to the early post as Lac du Brochet House (Manitoba Conservation 2000: 35).

For consistency I have decided to refer to the community as Brochet, unless there is a specific historic reference in which case I have adopted the term used in that reference.

Finally, one should not confuse the present day community of Lac Brochet which lies on the north shore of Lac Brochet with the community of Brochet or any of its variants.

[2] The distribution of Smith's private collection after his death is uncertain. Dr. Patricia McCormack (personal communication, April 4, 2003) believes that the collection was supposed to go to the Museum of the American Indian.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BOUNTY OF THE LAND

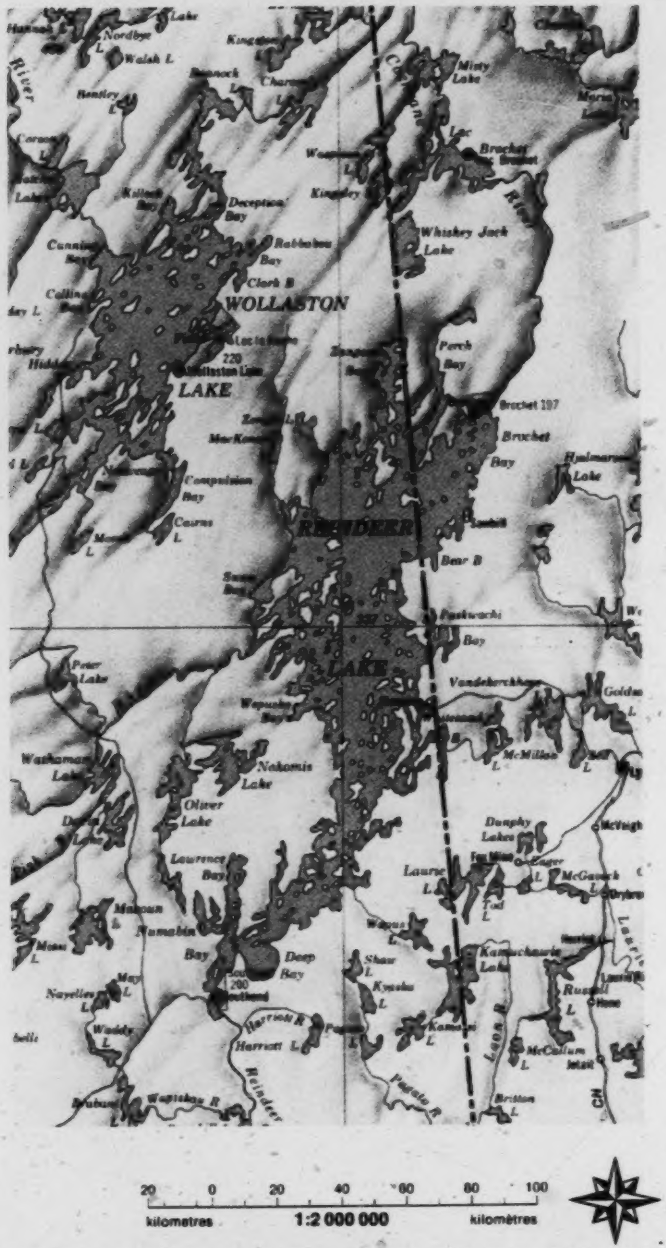
In order to fully appreciate the context within which Mrs. Umpherville laboured it is necessary to understand the natural environment that surrounds the settlement of Brochet. Lying some 800 kilometres northwest of Winnipeg on the northern shore of Reindeer Lake, Brochet presents a community in an environment that would be unfamiliar to most North Americans.

Lake and Forest

Reindeer Lake is the ninth largest lake in Canada covering some 6,650 square kilometres (2,556 square miles). William McInnes of the Geological Survey of Canada described the lake and its immediate vicinity in 1913.

> The Lake is in the neighbourhood of 150 miles long and, and in the northern part, its width averages about 30 miles. From the southern end, where the lake is narrow, great bays run off on each side, which have not been explored, and about 75 miles of the east shore has not been traversed. In the southern part the shores are generally precipitous and the land rises to heights of from 200 to 400 feet above the water. At the northern end, the land is low, sandy and barren, and is without hills. The forest growth about this part of the lake is small and consists almost exclusively of scrubby black spruce and birch. The soil is very scanty everywhere, though at a few points small patches of clay occur. To the south the shores are fairly well wooded, the forest growth including among other species, aspen poplar, which is not found to the north. Islands in great number and of all sizes fringe the shores and chains of them traverse some of the stretches from shore to shore [McInnes 1913:110].

Figure 2.


WOLLASTON
LAKE
REINDEER
LAKE
Brochet
Brochet Bay
Bear B
Whiskey Jack Lake
Misty Lake
Perch Bay
Deception Bay
Compulsion Bay
Cairns L
Nokomis Lake
Oliver Lake
Lawrence Bay
Numabin Bay
Deep Bay
Kamuchawie Lake
McMillan L
Dunphy Lakes
Laurie L
Reindeer
Paskwachi Bay
Vandekerckhove
Swan Bay
Wapusk Bay
Pear Lake
Hjalmarson Lake
Harriott L
Waddy L
Nayelles L
May L
Brochet 197
20
0
20
40
60
80
100
kilometres
1:2 000 000
kilomètres

Map of northeastern Saskatchewan and northwestern Manitoba
showing Reindeer Lake

(as adapted from Minister of Supply
& Services Canada 1978: 91-92)

The forest is still predominantly black spruce (*Picea mariana*), but aspen (*Populus tremuloides*), white birch (*Betula papyrifera*), poplar, tamarack (*Larix laricina*) and willow (*Salix spp.*) contribute to the floral diversity. Edible berries include blueberries (*Vaccinium myrtilloides*), strawberries and cranberries. The primary food animals are barren land caribou (*Rangifer tarandus groenlandicus*) in the winter months and moose (*Alces alces*). Small game such as various species of ducks and geese, ptarmigan (*Lagopus lagopus*), and spruce hens (*Canachites canadensis*) are also utilized. Fur bearing animals include mink (*Mustela Vison lacustris*), martin (*Martes americana*), river otter (*Lutra canadensis preblei*), beaver (*Castor canadensis canadensis*), muskrat (*Ondatra ziebethicus albus*), ermine (*Mustela erminea richardsonii*), lynx (*Lynx canadenis*), black bear (*Ursus americanus*), wolverine (*Gulo luscus luscus*), fox and arctic wolf. The beaver and muskrat are eaten, as are rabbits and porcupines (*Erethizen dorsatum corsatum*). In particularly difficult times residents can remember when the only thing available to eat was ermine. Common fish include lake trout (*Cristivomer namaycush*), walleye or pickerel (*Stizostedion vitreum*), northern pike or jackfish (*Esox lucius*) and whitefish (*Coregonus clupeaformis*) (Smith 1975b: 178).

This bounty has always been and continues to be important to Mrs. Umpherville and her family. The forest still provides firewood, wood for smoking meat, fish and hides. In earlier times it also provided logs for homes and wood for furniture. Today Mrs. Umpherville and her grandchildren pick blueberries and cranberries the same way she did as a child. The berries are made into jam, and often she has enough to give or sell to the neighbours for a little cash. Caribou, as will be discussed, continues to be the main food staple. While some of the caribou meat is sliced and dried, most is kept frozen in two freezers to be used in the summer and fall. Caribou meat is supplemented by white fish and lake trout, as seen in Plate 1. Mrs. Umpherville is a good cook and imaginative in her use of "country food." Her ground whitefish patties are divine as is her caribou lasagne and my favourite, pyroghies stuffed with mashed potatoes and fried ground caribou with onion. I have even heard stories of her chocolate cake made with bear fat. She adeptly blends food products from outside of the community with what the land produces.

Plate 1.

Catch of lake trout, ca. 1998
(Left to right) Carmen Umpherville, Clifford Umpherville, Eric Umpherville
Brochet, Manitoba
Photograph courtesy of Sandra Umpherville

The climate is severe with long harsh winters and short cool summers. Colder weather begins in September and the lakes are frozen by the end of October. Break-up – the thawing of rivers and lakes – usually begins in late May. By the end of June, Reindeer Lake is ice-free. Lake travel, however, may begin in early May when the margins of the lake and its tributaries are free of ice. It is not unusual to see snowmobiles pulling boats on sleds across the lake to the ice-free margins. Winter itself is very cold. By mid-December temperatures are steadily below zero. In January and February the temperature drops to –45° C to –51° C (-50° F to –60°F) or lower. It may remain at –40° C to –45° C for weeks at a time (Smith 1975b: 178). During my husband's and my stay at Brochet, children were not required to go outside for recess when it was –45° C. However, Brother Oscar at the Mission, who was responsible for reporting these bone numbing temperatures, occasionally forgot. Such was the case one chilly morning when the mercury dropped to –52° C.

Plate 2.

Boat on a sled about to be pulled by a snowmobile
Brochet, Manitoba, spring 1980

The seasons and the lake and its rivers help to connect the people with the caribou, their principle food source, and with other communities, which provides an opportunity to visit friends and relatives and to purchase goods that are scarce or not available within Brochet. This was as true for Mrs. Umpherville's grandfather Joseph Cook, her father Adolphe Lapensée, and her husband Albert Umpherville and herself, as it is today for her son Clifford Umpherville and his sons Carmen and Eric.

Caribou

The caribou is the single most important animal in the lives of the Brochet residents. The Chipewyan have been caribou hunters for centuries, and the Cree and the Métis later joined them. This ingrained importance is well illustrated by a story told by Father Egenolf of the St. Pierre du Lac Caribou Mission.

> During the summer here I have a catechism class of the children every day. Every day through the summer I go over the same thing, the identical questions and answers. Do you think they learn?
>
> There was a little girl in my class. She looked very bright - most Indian children do. Every day I took special care of this little one. I went over the questions and answers with her alone. You know, there is a part of our catechism where the question is asked, 'What is the most beautiful thing that God created?' The answer is: 'Man and all the angels.' But do you think I could teach this simple thing, that this little mind could learn? Every time I asked: 'What is the most beautiful thing God created?' She would look up at me and say: '*Idthen!*' the caribou! [Downes 1943: 86].

Caribou continue to supply a major portion of the fresh meat eaten in Brochet. Unsmoked caribou hide was Philomene Umpherville's preferred canvas for beadwork. This choice might come as some surprise to a visitor to the community since on average the barren ground caribou (*Rangifer tarandus*) are only within the Brochet hunting area four to five months out of the year. Some years they do not appear at all.

Plate 3.

Caribou grazing at Brochet, Manitoba, n.d.
Photographer: Father A. Darveau, OMI
Archives Deschâtelets

This dependence on a migratory species for the fundamental materials required for artistic expression appears to be inherently unsound for a person who is sedentary. Caribou movement can be uncertain (Smith 1978b: 71-72). The literature on caribou migration patterns for the area around Brochet is substantial It collectively attests to the vagaries of herd dynamics in the area (Tyrell 1894: 70; Preble 1902: 42; McInnes 1913: 116; Jacobi 1931: 150; Banfield 1951: 53; Parker 1972: 21-22, 45, 75-76, 90; Smith 1975a: 418; Irimoto 1981: 45).

Mr. Umpherville was a hunter. He supplied meat for his family and some of the hides Mrs. Umpherville required. A lack of caribou was a common concern for both of them. They utilized the whole caribou, even the marrow which I had the opportunity to eat.

Plate 4.

Albert Umpherville with a caribou, February 1955
Photograph courtesy of Philomene Umpherville

They frequently spoke of the distances that he and other hunters had to travel to hunt them and of their scarcity or abundance.

Wastage such as reported by N. A. Paterson of the Manitoba Game Branch was frowned upon. Paterson had found 41 freshly killed caribou along the road from Brochet to Sandy Hills after a visit by Chipewyans at Easter. "These being all adult cows, the tongues and unborn calves had been taken from them and the rest left to rot" (Kelsall 1968: 216). In the winter of 1954-55, Paterson recorded that:

> “All winter the [Chipewyan] fed caribou to their dogs, even right in the village where they could have bought fish for feed. ... On an inspection trip into the Chief's camp at Lac du Brochet, I found four families of [Chipewyans] camped there. Between the four families they had over a hundred dogs, these all being feed on caribou meat” [Kelsall 1968: 223].

The utilization of caribou by the Chipewyan led to a tragedy in September of 1955 at Duck Lake, Manitoba. There, some 450 caribou were slaughtered by shooting and spearing in the narrows where the caribou herds had crossed annually for generations. J.D. Robertson, a Manitoba Game Branch Officer, reported that many of the caribou did not have a knife mark on them. Only twenty had been skinned and perhaps another ten cached for their meat. This carnage had been wrought by only six hunters (Robertson 1955; Kelsall 1968: 219). The wastage was such that within four months of the slaughter, the people of Duck Lake were starving and requesting relief supplies by air (Kelsall 1968: 219). As a consequence of that fall's hunt, the Chipewyan of Duck Lake were relocated to a camp in Churchill, Manitoba. It was not until 1973 that remnants of the Band began to leave Churchill and establish a new community at Tadoule Lake, 100 kilometres southwest of Duck Lake.[1] This is one of the hunting stories that was told to my husband and myself by the Umphervilles. The abundance of caribou, the lack thereof, and wastage is further discussed in Kelsall 1968, Harper 1955, Parker 1972, and Smith 1978b.

Kelsall was not only concerned with the number of animals that were hunted and how they were utilized, but also with some of the economics involved. He noted that in the late 1940s the principle trade item was clearly the white hides that mostly entered the souvenir and handicraft trade. At the time, white hides were bringing $2.00 to $2.50 each (Kelsall 1968: 227). Mrs. Umpherville's experience in approximately 1953 supports Kelsall. She purchased a soft white caribou hide with no holes from Maria Tantkazzi, a Chipewyan, who was asking $2.50. Mrs. Umpherville gave her $5.00 and Mr. Umpherville also gave her some tobacco.[2] Kelsall lamented this trade.

> The most unfortunate aspect of the traffic was, in this and many other instances, that the caribou hides traded mostly ended up as moccasins, jackets, and other handicrafts, few of which were essential to the people, including many white persons, who acquired them [Kelsall 1968: 227].

Kelsall was apparently more sympathetic to the plight of the caribou than he was to the Native residents of the area. The meagre cash income realized from the sale of items of clothing was important to many families and the principle source of income for most women like Mrs. Umpherville. Around 1950 she was able to realize $4.00 for a pair of white caribou hide moccasins. Although not a great deal of money, this was considered profitable because she was able to make more than four pairs of white caribou slippers from one large hide.

Further, the caribou hunt represented a major cultural expression to the Chipewyan. The sale of whole caribou hides and babiche was largely to Natives for making clothing and snowshoes (Kelsall 1968: 227-228). It would appear then that the trade in caribou hides was largely conducted by the Hudson's Bay Company and directed at Native customers. The profit realized from the trade ranged from 75% to several hundred percent (Kelsall 1968:).

Frances Harper (l955: 47) stated that as late as the mid century "the whole culture of the Inland Eskimo and the Northern Indians (the Caribou-eater Chipewyan in particular) is so thoroughly based upon the caribou that the decimation of these animals would mean a fundamental modification or virtual extermination of their culture". By the mid century, however, caribou hides were no longer a primary item of trade. Only a few hides were being preserved. It is some 250 miles from the hunting grounds at Nueltin Lake to Brochet where the hides brought only $l.00 each. Finished products, on the other hand, were still made for sale and trade. Harper (l955: 57-58) recorded that three Chipewyans brought mitts, gloves and moccasins made from caribou skins from the south end of Nueltin Lake to trade at the Windy River Post. Similarly, moccasins of caribou skin were brought from the Chipewyan of Duck Lake to Churchill to sell.

The hides taken from caribou killed in August and September were considered to be the best for clothing. This is the period of the year that the Inland Inuit prefer to take hides for winter clothing. The hair is shorter and finer then, particularly on calves and yearlings. Caribou hair has a particular thermal property in that it is hollow. This hollow hair has important insulating properties. It is possible that in the past the Caribou Eater Chipewyan may have frequented the north end of Nueltin Lake during this time of year in order to secure the most suitable hides for winter clothing (Harper 1955: 57-58). These observations were made at a time when fur garments were still made. That is, the caribou robe (hide with the hair intact), not just the leather, was considered important.

By the latter half of the twentieth century, the Native residents of Brochet had become sufficiently tied to the sedentary life of the community that they no longer made long fall hunting trips into the Barren Lands. This also coincides with a period when garments made from caribou hides had been mostly replaced with commercial items provided by the Hudson's Bay Company, independent traders, or catalogue orders. The necessity of killing caribou in August/September for their robes was thus diminished. Indeed, the men concentrated on a January to April hunt when the caribou are nearest to Brochet. From the winter of 1997-98 through the winter of 2000-01 a successful hunt was enjoyed in Brochet. Clifford Umpherville killed 14 caribou that first winter and continued to kill 12 to14 animals subsequently. The meat fed a family of five.

Plate 5.

Eric Umpherville's first kill, 1999
(Left to right) Carmen Umpherville (13 years old), Eric Umpherville (6 years old)
Photograph courtesy of Sandra Umpherville

Caribou hunting in Brochet during the last several decades was undertaken primarily by snowmobile. Hunters would drive their machines with sledges for carrying meat and skinned hides up to 60 miles to hunt the caribou. Men often hunted with friends or family members. Meat was distributed to older people in town who were either no longer able to hunt for themselves or who had no sons to hunt for them. On occasion a small aircraft such as a Beaver would be chartered for hunting when the caribou were beyond the range of the skidoos. This, however, was seldom a desirable arrangement for if the hunt was successful there was inevitably a dispute between the pilot and the hunter over the amount of meat the aircraft could carry. If the stories are to be taken at their face value, the disputes were sometimes settled with the hunter's rifle.

My husband's experience with a caribou hunt is probably somewhat typical. In exchange for purchasing a can of gas, my husband was allowed to accompany a hunter north along the Cochrane River and then northwest toward Whiskey Jack Lake. The day of the hunt was judged to be suitable when the mercury in the thermometer had risen to –30°

Fahrenheit. Most of the men left town in small groups early in the morning before the sun had risen. Hunters who did not own their own snowmobiles or who had not taken them for various reasons rode in the back of the sledges with the gas can and the grub box. Lunch consisted of bannock, dried caribou meat, and tea. Store-bought bread was considered unsuitable for hunting trips because it crumbled when frozen. A can of stew was taken for my husband, as his companion was uncertain if he would want to eat such country food.

Although my husband and his companion left Brochet later and alone, by afternoon they met other hunters at a portage. The hunters formed small and loosely composed groups in their search for caribou. The intent was to find either small groups or individual caribou on the frozen lakes or on rivers where they could be shot with the lever action 30-30s or 308s that most of the hunters carried. Bullets were not wasted. A downed caribou would be dispatched with a blow to the head with the blunt end of an axe rather than with an additional bullet. The caribou were quickly field dressed with a hunting knife and an axe. The hunter whom my husband accompanied could skin and dress a caribou in approximately eight minutes. The hunt continued until the sledge was filled with meat and occasionally with skinned caribou hides. If additional animals were killed, their meat would be cached for retrieval at a later time.

At the end of the day, the hunters rendezvoused on an elevated promontory of land above one of the many lakes. A bonfire marked the spot, and a slab of caribou ribs was hoisted on a long pole. The hunters used the time to dry their clothes, eat an evening meal of fresh caribou and discuss the hunt. It was also a time for the hunters to regroup so that those individuals who had come on snowmobiles belonging to others might ride back to town atop the sledges least heavily loaded with meat. The return trip tended to be somewhat more communal than the outward-bound journey of the morning. This was probably done for reasons of safety, as the snowmobiles were heavily loaded and thus subject to more strain and possible breakdown.

It should be noted that during my husband's and my two-year stay in Brochet from 1978 to 1980 there were no instances of wasteful killing of caribou. Caribou tongues were considered a delicacy but so were other parts of the caribou such as the tenderloin. The hunters, who were mostly Cree and Métis, did not eat caribou foetus; they found the idea of historical interest, but this was not something one did now. The only complaints of waste that we heard were from some women, including Mrs Umpherville, when the hunters did not bring back the caribou hides for tanning. These were frequently left in the bush due to their weight.

The natural environment into which Mrs. Umpherville was born is as much a part of her as she is of it. For most of her life she has adjusted to it and worked with it. The caribou has not been the only aspect of her natural environment, but it is likely the most significant. In her lifetime it has provided food, clothing, tools, a marketable cash product, and more recently, from my perspective, a canvas and an inspiration for her artwork. The bounty of the land touches her community, her history, and her art.

---

[1] The story of this relocation as told from the Native perspective can be found in Ila Bussidor and Uston Bilgen-Reinhart's *Night Spirits, The Story of the Relocation of the Sayisi Dene* (1997).

[2] At this time Maria Tantkazzi had lost her son to drowning. No one could find his body for five days. Mr. Umpherville eventually found him in the middle of the lake. "He called to God and he found him." Mrs. Tantkazzi thanked him and brought Mrs. Umpherville "a smoked moose hide and a nice pair of bead mitts for Albert".

CHAPTER THREE

BROCHET: PAST AND PRESENT

Brochet in the twentieth century was temporally out of step with the majority of Canada. Not only is it a temporal anomaly, but it violates much of what the non-Native world takes for granted about Native peoples and about the Subarctic. In Brochet subsistence hunting and trapping for the Hudson's Bay Company was the norm in a time when southern Canada was participating in space exploration. The events that formed the setting for most of Mrs. Umpherville's life occurred not only within the span of her own years but also the decades before her birth.

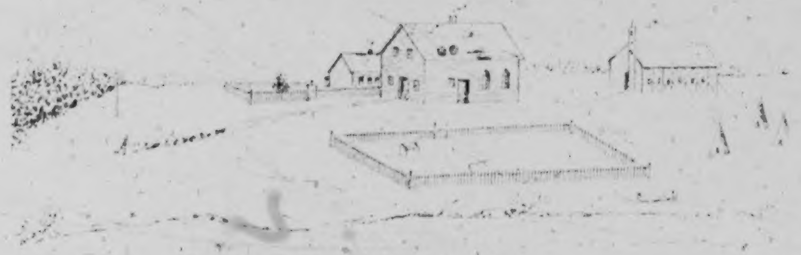
In his classic work, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, E. R. Leach has suggested that in order to understand a social system it must be examined not as a moment in time but rather as "a period of time of about 150 years" (Leach 1965: xi). While this time span will likely fluctuate from social system to social system, the principle of the importance of establishing an historical context is certainly applicable to Brochet and to Mrs. Umpherville. Although she was born in 1920, it is no exaggeration to suggest that Mrs. Umpherville was born in another time and in many ways a world apart.

My experience in Brochet from 1978-1980 suggested that it was primarily a Cree community with a small Métis population and a yet smaller Chipewyan resident population. This impression would have not reflected accurately the diversity of the ethnic distribution of the population over the long term. For most of the twentieth century the Chipewyan population was much greater in Brochet than today. The numbers of Chipewyan did not significantly decrease until the early 1970's, when dissatisfaction with life in Brochet led most Chipewyan families to relocate further north to Lac Brochet. This dissatisfaction was due in part to the ever-increasing resident Cree population. In 1967 there were 336 Crees in Brochet and 306 Chipewyans (Smith 1975b: 176). By 1976 nearly all of the Chipewyans had left Brochet (Smith, 1978b: 69). Without understanding the Chipewyan presence, some of the features of Mrs. Umpherville's mukluk styles would be more difficult to explain.

The Development of Brochet

When in 1847 the Roman Catholic Order of the Oblates of Marie Immaculate from Ile-a-la-Crosse first reached Reindeer Lake, the south end of the Lake was dominated by the Cree while the north was Chipewyan (Smith 1975b: 176). In 1859 the Hudson's Bay Company founded a permanent post at what is now Brochet. The initial post had only a Euro-Canadian manager and a few Cree "Home Indians" (Smith 1976d: 26; Smith 1970: 63). The Chipewyan had not yet been successfully drawn into the trade as full time trappers. Indeed, this pattern was so strong that it influenced the movement of people well into the twentieth century as will be seen. Two years later, in 1861, the Oblates were back at what had become Brochet and founded the mission of St. Pierre du Lac Caribou, ushering in a new era of permanent settlement on the north shore of the lake (Smith 1976d: 26; Smith 1975b: 176).

Figure 3.



Mission du Lac Caribou, 1875
Provincial Archives of Alberta, OB11239

The Hudson's Bay Company post at Brochet was established to encourage trade with the Caribou Eater Chipewyans who had previously traded at both North West Company posts and Hudson's Bay Company posts further south on Reindeer Lake. The rational was straightforward. By locating the post at the top of the lake the Company hoped to attract a greater number of Chipewyan to the trade. Brochet also fell within the southern limit of the winter range of the Kaminuriak Caribou herd upon which the Chipewyan depended. The intent was likely to encourage the Caribou Eaters to participate in the fur trade by physically inserting the post within the range of their somewhat nomadic movements. One of the difficulties, however, was that Brochet was near the southern limit of the caribou range. The herds could not be counted upon to appear each year.

The Caribou Eater Chipewyan bands continued their heavy focus on the herds. Indeed, there is reason to suspect that some bands' participation in the fur trade was focused not on furs but on supplying the post with meat (for many residents of Brochet meat was still synonymous with caribou in the late 1970s, and even today as has been noted, Mrs. Umpherville's family relies on caribou). The District Report of 1894 for Lac du Brochet contains the following entry:

> Nearly all Chipewyan belonging to Churchill resorted to this Post for a number of years back, but at the time of inspection, when Debts were refused to them and the trade in Produce (Meat, Babiche, Deerskins, etc.) curtailed to the requirements of the Post only, they left to return to their own Post. Their own country is comparatively rich in Fur-bearing animals, but they left it to hunt Deer, the meat and skins of which they found sale for at the Lac du Brochet Post, thus obtaining for themselves a better living than if they had confined themselves to Fur hunting [HBC Archives, District Report Lac du Brochet 296/e/2/, p.7].

Plate 6.

St. Pierre du Lac Caribou Mission, 1894
Photographer: James McDougall
Provincial Archives of Manitoba N6881

Brochet served a transient population that not only included Cree and Caribou Eaters, with a resident population of Métis and a smattering of Euro-Canadians, but also a transient population of Inuit hunters. This is remarkable for two reasons. First, Brochet is located far from the traditional lands of the Inuit, approximately 420 kilometres (260 miles) from Hudson Bay and 520 kilometres (322 miles) from the barren lands in the interior of the Keewatin District. Secondly, conventional wisdom portrays the Chipewyans and the Inuit as traditional enemies. This latter point has been frequently supported by Samuel Hearne's (1971: 152-159) account of the slaughter of an Inuit camp by his Déné guides in 1771.

However, James G. E. Smith (1979: 1) has argued that although hostilities were common at certain times and places, at other times and places peaceful conditions were common and trade developed between the two groups. This should not be entirely unexpected since both groups relied heavily upon the caribou. Their territorial range also overlapped as the Caribou Eaters hunted onto the barrens as far as the Kazan River and Dubawnt Lake, both within traditional Inuit hunting ranges. Such an overlap of hunting territory might be expected to lead to a competition for resources. However, the nature of the resource and of the exploiting population served to minimize such conflict. That is, the caribou are a herd animal and when present are tremendously abundant. When the herd alters its migration route there are simply no caribou. It is a classic case of feast or famine. When one adds to this mix a small and dispersed population of hunters, the cause for hostilities based on competition over scarce or limited resources becomes substantially weakened.

The presence of Inuit in Brochet can be ascribed to a single priest and his Chipewyan companions. Father Alphonse Gasté of the St. Pierre du Lac Caribou Mission left Brochet for the Barren Lands with Chipewyan on their way north on April 21, 1868 (Gasté 1960: 3). His mission was to find the Inuit of Dubawnt Lake and the upper Kazan River and to persuade them to return with him to the Mission in Brochet. His companions were successful in locating an Inuit encampment.

Plate 7.

Father Alphonse Gasté (second from left) as identified by Mrs. Philomene Umpherville
St. Pierre du Lac Caribou, Rein-deer Lake, ca. 1894
Photographer: James McDougall
Provincial Archives of Manitoba N6882

Father Gasté's description of the meeting and the events that followed is most instructive and suggests that there had been amicable contact previously between the two groups. The mere fact that Gasté's guides were able to find an Inuit encampment in the vastness of the Barrens suggests some knowledge of the other's movements. The groups greeted each other in their traditional manner; the Chipewyan by waving a blanket over their heads in a circular motion and the Inuit by extending their hands and repeating "Taiman, Taiman" which corresponds to "Good Day". The Caribou Eaters presented the Inuit with gifts of tobacco and conversed with them with words and gestures (Gasté 1960: 6). The latter suggests at least a rudimentary knowledge of each other's language. The Inuit on their part offered the Caribou Eaters bits of dried meat, rather than the half rotten meat that they themselves consumed (Gasté 1960: 9). Again, this suggests previous contact; not only did the Inuit know the Caribou Eaters food preference, but they carried such food with them as if in anticipation of contact. The Caribou Eaters not only traded with the Inuit but camped with them for twelve days (Gasté 1960: 11). Again, this would seem to indicate a degree of ease and familiarity that would only have developed over an extended period of time. Smith and Burch (1979: 85) have interpreted this meeting to mean that "despite the fact that mutual fear and suspicion evidently persisted at a covert level, the overt animosity that once had existed between Chipewyan and Inuit seems to have disappeared entirely." Upon leaving, Father Gasté urged the Inuit to come to the "Caribou Lake Fort" in preference to Fort Churchill, claiming that they would find the trip easier. Five hunters agreed that they would "explore the difficulties of the road and, if the advantage was proven, they would soon come in large numbers" (Gasté 1960: 13).

Father Gasté returned to Brochet on November 11, 1868 (Gasté 1960: 15). The trip had exhausted him and he had very nearly perished in the attempt. He had, however, in attracting the Inuit to Brochet. He had also succeeded in attracting the attention of the Hudson's Bay Company in Churchill. The Churchill post manager reported to his superiors:

> My Chipewyans told me a rigmarole story about a Priest & some "Indian Chief" having been amongst these Homeguards of mine last summer and endeavouring to induce them all to go to Deers Lake [Brochet], they didn't seem to have succeeded very well in their machinations, as regards my Chipewyans, but managed to induce five of my inland Esquimaux to go, at which I am exceedingly annoyed, evidently, from all I hear too, these "Huskies" had no wish to go, but in the simplicity of their hearts allowed themselves to be inveigled into going & have left their families a drag on

> the movement of my Chipewyans.
>
> [HBC Archives, Correspondence Book Fort Churchill: B.42/b/62:10, letter of January 2, 1869]

The Inuit apparently came to trade rather than to be converted. By the fall of 1881, 217 Inuit hunters claimed Lac du Brochet as their home post, as compared to 386 Chipewyans and 29 Crees (HBC Archives, District Report Cumberland House: B.49/e/9, fo.4). This represented the high point of the Inuit trade in Brochet. Chipewyan/Inuit contacts began to decline in the final decades of the nineteenth century. A few Inuit continued to trade at Brochet through the first half of the twentieth century (Smith & Burch 1979: 85). Qiqut was one such individual who operated mainly as a middleman in the central Keewatin northwest of Ennadai Lake during the 1930s and early 1940s. Occasionally he made the trip to Brochet for goods (Riewe, Sulik, and Brandson 1989: 91).

Brochet at the Beginning of Twentieth Century

Brochet continued to rely upon a transient population of Cree, Chipewyan, and Inuit well into the twentieth century. Capt. Angus Buchanan provided a glimpse of the community in 1920, the year that Mrs. Umpherville was born and a time when her father was still the manager of the Hudson's Bay Company post.

> After rounding an island promontory Fort Du Brochet is approached, where its scanty settlement of miniature dwellings stands grave and grey in one of those hidden inlet bays so common to all the waterways of the rugged North. ... The small, log-hewn, square built cabins are weather beaten and grey like time-worn boulders on the wayside, and stand solitary as sentinels on a bare, treeless, grass-grown knoll. The Fort – the buildings of the Hudson [sic] Bay Company, comprising a house, a trading store, and an assortment of outhouses – stands dominant on the highest ground on the extreme east of the knoll. To the west, strange to say, is a tiny Catholic mission and church; the latter cross-planned, as is the Roman custom, notwithstanding its insignificant size and

> crude workmanship. At some little distance from the mission is the Trading Store of the "French Company" (Revillion [sic] Brothers), rival traders to the Hudson [sic] Bay Company, who here established a footing some ten years ago. There are six cabins in the settlement occupied by part-blood or full-blood Indians, who are in intervals in summer and winter employed in the transport of furs and stores for the trading companies. White fungus-like tents, in awkward discord with natural colours, are pitched here and there along-shore. They are the temporary shelters of the ever wandering Chipewyans, for alas! the days of the mahogany-coloured, smoke-soiled deer-skin (caribou or moose-skin) teepees have almost gone, and their peaked pyramid forms range no more in native beauty along the shore-front.
> [Buchanan 1920: 95-96]

About 1920 the first log cabins were also being built at such traditional camps as Fort Hall, Misty, Maria, Nueltin, Hatchet and Wollaston Lakes. At some of these camps the Hudson's Bay Company, Revillon Freres and free traders established outposts. The log cabin communities served as base camps for the Chipewyan. June Helm and David Damas (1963: 9-21) developed a model for the historical evolution of Native communities in the Canadian North. They have termed the period of prescribed, stabilized and regularized relations between Native and non-Native persons and institutions as the contact-traditional horizon. "The member of the indigenous community goes beyond his own settlement to contact at special locales a few representatives of such standard white institutions as trading posts and missions, which historically have been created for the purpose of creating and promoting those relations. Increasingly, representatives of government offices especially, seek out the native in his home community" (Helm and Damas 1963: 20). Helm and Damas (1963: 10) have referred to such log cabin base camps as "all-native communities" as belonging to a contact-traditional horizon. Such communities are characterized by the absence of white personnel or institutions. These all-native communities are part of a larger social/economic system in that they are oriented to a larger centre dubbed a "Point-of-Trade" where non-Native institutions such as trading posts and missions are located. Clearly, Brochet functioned as a Point-of-Trade for the residents of these smaller satellite communities.

Helm and Damas (1963: 11) consider the construction of log cabins to be physical evidence of the significant decline of the nomadic lifestyle. However, the people continued to live in tents wherever there were caribou concentrations. This is, in fact, what the Helm and Damas model predicts. It recognizes a secondary residential category termed camps. These represent seasonal and temporary sites to which people move from their base communities. Trapping and caribou hunting are both economic activities that require temporary relocation from a base camp. James G. E. Smith (1970: 61) did not believe that the Caribou-Eaters ever became seriously involved or dependent upon the fur trade as did other Chipewyan or Cree groups. However, other social and economic incentives did eventually draw them into residence at the Point-of-Trade that was Brochet.

Brochet and Sandy Hills

In 1917 Adolphe Lapensée became manager of the Hudson's Bay store in Brochet, having recently resigned his teaching position in Cumberland House, Saskatchewan. Two years later he married his third wife, Catherine Cook from Brochet. Philomene Lapensée was born in the manager's house in 1920 and named after her paternal grandmother, Philomene Lapensée (née Therrien), who had passed away that year.

Plate 8.

Hudson's Bay Company manager's house, 1924
Photographer: C. S. MacDonald
National Archives of Canada, PA38194

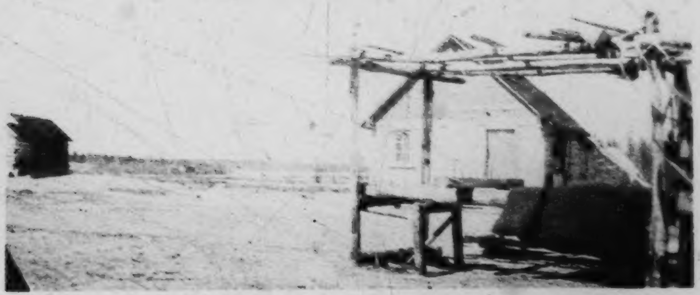
She was born into a family that was established in Brochet and had direct family connections with and access to goods from the outside world. Her grandfather Joseph Cook worked for the Bay. "He packed flour and did work like that". Her grandmother (Marisis) "lived in a two story log house, two rooms downstairs and two bedrooms upstairs. She had a cupboard on which she placed nice dishes. …She had beautiful cast iron frying pans. … The house had curtains." As a concrete reminder of her family's affluence, Mrs. Umpherville has a cast iron spoon that was found by the lake where her grandmother's house used to stand. There were about six two story log houses in which her grandparents and other closely connected families lived. The homes were sturdy. "They were very good carpenters years ago." Like the home of her grandparents, these homes were fairly well appointed. The houses had "fancy" iron beds. The walls had willow hooks or nails on which to hang clothes. "No hangers, you know." They also had humpback trunks in which to store clothes. They didn't have much furniture in the living room, but they had home made benches and even rocking chairs. Mrs. Umpherville's father made a rocking chair, which he gave to Father Egenolf when he and his family left Brochet.

When her father left the Hudson's Bay Company in 1922, he opened his own post at Sandy Hills on the Cochrane River approximately 62 miles north and east of Brochet, where he operated as a free trader.[1] This strategic move to place himself between the Chipewyan (and Inuit) trappers and the Hudson's Bay Company in Brochet was not without local precedent. The Hudson's Bay Company had opened a post on the edge of the Barrens at Ennadai Lake in 1907 to intercept the trade of the Caribou Inuit on their way to the posts on Hudson Bay as well as to entice trade from the Copper Inuit for whom the trip to Brochet was too far. Revillon Frères also opened posts in the region in 1922 (Csonka 1999: 127).

The family lived Sandy Hills in a home that Mr. Lapensée built until Mrs. Umpherville was ten. Mrs. Umpherville is very proud of his skill. "He did everything himself, the window frames, the door, the beds and the table."

The trading post at Sandy Hills consisted of the post building, a small shed and a log house with a small flat roofed addition at the back in which the children slept. The shed contained larger items for trade such as tubs. It was situated close to the post building. The shed was also where Mr. Lapensée stored his furs. There was a rack made of wooden poles on which to hang eider down quilts close to the house and closer to the river there was a rack for drying fish. Mr. Cook (her mother's brother) and Mr. Merasty also lived on the post side of the river.

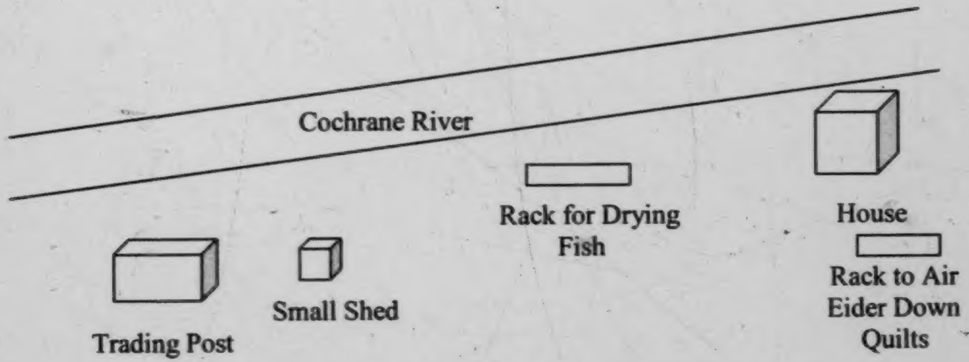
Plate 9.



Adolphe Lapensée's post at Sandy Hills, ca. 1923
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene Umpherville

The following sketch shows the layout of her father's post as Mrs. Umpherville remembers it.

Figure 4.


Cochrane River
Rack for Drying Fish
House
Rack to Air Eider Down Quilts
Trading Post
Small Shed

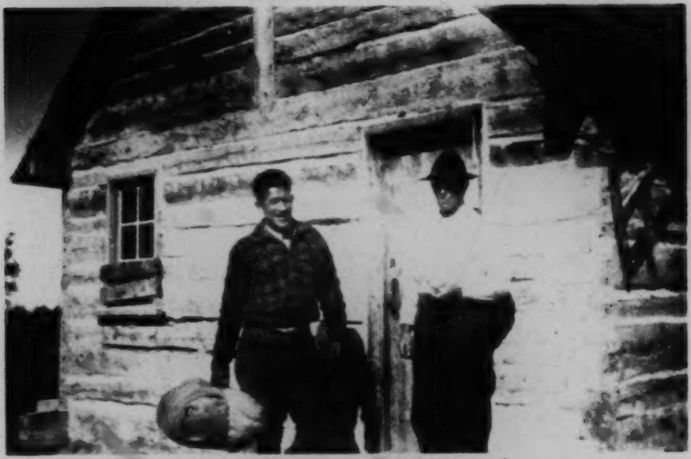
Sketch of the Lapensée trading post at Sandy Hills, ca. 1930
not to scale

Mrs. Umpherville thinks that her dad carried different groceries from the Hudson's Bay Company. "He had raspberry, strawberry, blackberry and blueberry jam, and honey that was hard and dry, not like the honey that I buy today." He also sold sugar, tea, flour, baking powder, tobacco, matches, material, wool sweaters, traps, bullets, shells and powder.

C. S. MacDonald, a surveyor for the Canadian Geological Survey, stopped at the Lapensée trading post in 1924. Mrs. Umpherville was very pleased to see the archival photograph of her father and MacDonald.

> Yeah, my dad. Oh, and MacDonald. I remember that MacDonald. But we couldn't speak, uh, English and we couldn't speak to him. He was talking us in English. He kind man, eh. My dad, his best friend, yeah. My dad, he was a best friend. Oh my God. This I remember, the cabin he was.

Plate 10.



C. S. MacDonald and Adolphe Lapensée at the Sandy Hill trading post
on the Cochrane River, 1924
National Archives of Canada PA 19805

Ten to eleven Chipewyan families lived in tents across the Cochrane River from the Sandy Hills post. Both Chipewyans and "Eskimos" (Inuit) would come to Sandy Hills to trade. The river stayed open year round. "It never froze in winter. Big strong river." Mrs. Umpherville recalled that the Chipewyans traded a variety of furs including beaver, mink, and fox. They stayed in the summertime, but in the fall most moved out north to Marie, Neultin and Kasmere Lakes. Although Mrs. Umpherville could not remember any personal encounters with the Inuit at Sandy Hills or Brochet from her childhood, her mother had told her stories about them. "They was. Even they build in the wintertime igloos on the lake there. They can't living in the houses. It's hot for them. Too hot because they dress … caribou coats."[2]

In the summer, Mr. Lapensée would take the furs out to Winnipeg and purchase more supplies for his post. The "dry furs" (scraped, stretched, and dried but not tanned) were wrapped in gunnysacks for the trip to market. During that time Mr. Pat Hyslop ran the store "with the help of about four white men when he [Mr. Lapensée] was gone". It took Mrs. Umpherville's father about a month to reach The Pas. He first went to Southend, then to Pelican Narrows, on to Cumberland House, and finally to The Pas where he boarded a train to Winnipeg. He needed about eight men to help with the portages. He paid them and they waited for him in The Pas.

Mr. Lapensée first used canoes with paddles and canvas sails to haul the furs out. Later he had two motors, and each motorized canoe pulled two additional canoes. He was the first person in Brochet to own a boat motor, a five-horse power Evinrude. She remembers riding proudly in the canoe, not even looking at anyone as they noisily passed other canoes. At other times her father went out by the Hudson's Bay Company's cruiser "Lac du Brochet".

Plate 11.

Hudson's Bay Company cruiser "Lac du Brochet", ca. 1924
Reindeer Lake, Manitoba
Photographer: C. S. MacDonald
National Archives of Canada, PA 19693

Running the post at Sandy Hills sometimes put her father in an awkward authoritative position. Mrs. Umpherville recalled an incident when her father was called out to the Chipewyan camp:

> My dad was called out once by the Chipewyans. A man was sick and he had a fever. He was delirious. He was shaking. Men came to his cabin and took him outside and tied him up to a carriole and let him freeze to death. They wouldn't let his wife go outside to save him. She had three children. She could hear him say, "I am freezing. I'm alright." And then he was quiet. They got scared and they came to get my dad. He went. The man was still outside tied to the cariole. He [Mr. Lapensée] was very angry, but he couldn't do anything. There were no police. The man was buried some place at Sandy Hills.

As a child Mrs. Umpherville learned a little of the Chipewyan language. She and her sisters used to play with the Chipewyan children.

> In the winter, sliding, sliding and snowshoeing. And getting wood with the dog teams, and in the summer time we had a

> little tent. … The small one and we have dogs and we play there. Yeah. Even I used to cook, some bannock, outside just. I remember.

Mrs. Umpherville remembers going across the river by boat to watch the Chipewyans play their music and dance. She felt frightened of the "Indians" dancing to the music of drums and rattles. It was the drumming that led to another of her father's stories from Sandy Hills.

> My dad told me he couldn't sleep all night. [The Chipewyans were] playing the drums across the river. Cochrane River. …It just, uh, not really wide. Across that island, it was beautiful place. But the Chipewyans all tents were living … We were here in Brochet and he went by himself and, uh, I guess they were playing two drums and they making fire in the middle of the place and they was dancing around and around. 'Oh, I get tired [of] listening', he said, 'to the drums.' Finally, I guess Joe Highway, Florence's dad, and George Cook came back by canoe from spring trapping. The two together. I guess they heard at night the drums. They stop, uh, long ways and hiding the canoe … and they sneaked to them. I guess … they was dancing … . Highway, he took a stick and he throw the stick to them, you know, not far out … But he just throw the stick. Somebody there sitting on the ground and women. 'Oh, that *Witigo*' … 'Run', she says. Everybody jump out and the drums. Whoa, all over and they take the stuff and the tents down and they packed them in the canoe and they were paddling to, umh, my dad's. You know, to where my dad lived. And … one guy speaks Cree to, uh, to my dad. He says '*Witigo* around. You have to move … [you] can't stay here.' And my dad start laughing.

The French Canadian trader and the Cree/Métis trappers had a laugh at the expense of the Chipewyan campers, and at the same time attained some quiet.

Occasionally her father went beyond Winnipeg to Plantagenet, Ontario. He would be gone all summer on these trips. Her mother never accompanied him because "there were too many of us kids". On one of his trips to Plantagenet he brought back the first commercial dolls in Brochet for his daughters, Flora, Vicky and Philomene. The dolls were nicely dressed, "very fancy" with porcelain heads and eyes that opened and closed. "Very expensive dolls, I didn't see another like it here".

In 1930, Mr. Lapensée moved his family back to Brochet, even though he continued to operate the trading post at Sandy Hills. He travelled there in the winter by dog team. In the summer he sometimes worked in Brochet as a clerk with Frank Henderson for the Bay.

Plate 12.

Hudson's Bay
INCORPORATED

Elise Benoune and Frank Henderson in front of the Hudson's Bay Company store, ca. 1935
Brochet, Manitoba
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene Umpherville

The family lived in a house built by Mr. Lapensée on what is now Thomas Island across from the Hudson's Bay post. It was one story with two bedrooms and a big room that served as a kitchen and living room. They had a large heavy cast iron cooking stove, a wooden table, a record player and a radio. The water level in the lake used to be lower than it is today and her father had cut down trees to make a wide path to the store.

One of the reasons that Mr. Lapensée moved back to Brochet and later to Plantagenet was that he was concerned that his children receive an education. "The Treaty children left by canoe using seven and twelve horsepower outboard motors to Southend and Pelican Narrows. [They] left in the middle of August because it took so long to get there. They went to school in Sturgeon Landing. The kids got very lonesome." Mr. Lapensée wanted to send Vicky, Flora, Ferdinand, and Philomene away to school. He wrote to Bishop Ovide Charlebois in The Pas for permission, but the cost was too high. "He didn't have enough money". Brother Urbain Drouin, who was from Quebec and didn't speak English, taught her and about fourteen other children Cree and French. She learned to read and write in Cree from him. The first official local school did not open until 1949 (Smith 1970: 64).

Plate 13.

Philomene Lapensée in a Brochet classroom, ca. 1930
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene Umpherville

In 1938 when Mr. Lapensée and his family left Brochet, Mrs. Umpherville's cousin, Pierre Merasty, took over the house and the trap line at Sandy Hills. Much later when he was dismantling the old cabin he brought a small memento for Mrs. Umpherville. It is a small, lozenge-shaped brass plaque that used to hang above the doorway to the house. It contains an image of Jesus encircled with a blessing in French. Mrs. Umpherville still keeps it as a reminder of her father and of her connection to Sandy Hills and a way of life now past.

Away and Back

After Mrs. Umpherville moved to Plantagenet with her family, she was only able to finish grade ten because she had to go to work. Her father only received a forty-dollar pension cheque and had eight children to support. She felt that she had no choice. She worked with another girl as a housekeeper at the Catholic priest's home. "I just cleaning, washing sheets and washing clothes and the dishes and then the floor and dusting. That's all we did."

Plate 14.

The Lapensée children, Plantagenet, Ontario, ca. 1940
(Back row, left to right) Philomene, Flora, Vicki
(Front row, left to right) Therese, Ferdinand, Lorette
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene Umpherville

Within two years she went to work for a doctor and his wife, a nurse in Ottawa. She believes that after about five years she left and came back to her father, whom she asked to write to his friend Bishop Marc Lacroix of the diocese of Churchill – Baie d'Hudson in The Pas, Manitoba. Her father wrote the letter and with the help of his friend found a job for her and her sister Victoria at the hospital. Mrs. Umpherville had saved $400 and she and her sister left Ottawa for The Pas by train at the cost of $19 a ticket.

It was 1945 and the war was over. At the hospital Mrs. Umpherville worked very hard. "We work hard, work, so many patients and, uh, they called me all the time because I do very good." She earned $40 a month and lived on the fourth floor in a nice room at the hospital. She also received a uniform, food and free laundry.

Plate 15.

Philomene Lapensée (front row centre) with friends on the hospital steps
The Pas, Manitoba, ca. 1946
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene Umpherville

Mrs. Umpherville and her girl friends who also worked at the hospital used to go to see the soldiers coming home from the war at the train station. "It was sometimes very sad when the family met them." It was at a party at one of her friend's uncle's home that Mrs. Umpherville, now 83 years old, met her future husband, Albert Umpherville. The girls sat on the couch, and Albert sat on the chair on the side. Philomene felt him staring at her. Finally, Albert's uncle introduced them and Albert asked her to dance. He and three other young men walked the girls back to the hospital at about three in the morning. He asked her out to the picture show the next day and she went. Still wearing his uniform, Albert picked her up and since he was very respectful, she continued to see him. Although Mr. Umpherville's brothers and sisters liked her, his mother did not. She called Philomene a "Catholic Pea Souper." But the young couple persisted and in 1946 went to Flin Flon to get married. Minister Howard Horsfield married them on September 21, 1946 in the St. James Church of England. Father Darveau married them again on August 26, 1947 in a Roman Catholic ceremony in the St. Pierre du Lac Caribou Mission. Mrs. Umpherville took being married twice with good humour.

> Yeah, because Father Darveau, he says "Oh no, that's no good." It's nothing, what. [laughter] Married in Anglican. What difference? The same, eh. To me anyway.

Life proved to be difficult for Mrs. Umpherville in The Pas, so she moved with her infant daughter Audrey to Wollaston to live with her Auntie Elise. There she obtained employment from Mr. Lawrence McDonald as a cook at a fish camp. Her Auntie Elsie accompanied her to the camp and took care of Audrey. Mrs. Umpherville cooked for six or seven men. She worked very hard and in about three months when she decided to leave she had a check for over a thousand dollars. She returned to Brochet where her brother and sister were living. In 1948 Mrs. Umpherville refused to move to The Pas with Mr. Umpherville. She insisted on living in Brochet where she had family. This meant that her husband had to relocate and learn a different way of making a living. He joined her in Brochet and became a hunter and trapper in the winter and a fisherman in the summer. She has never returned to The Pas to live, although she has visited the community regularly.

Mrs. Umpherville was not done with fish camps, however. One of the men she met at McDonald's fish camp asked her and her husband to work for him. When their son Philip was still a baby, both she and her husband worked for him at McKay Camp on what is now the Umpherville River. There were about three cabins there. This fish camp near Wollaston, Saskatchewan was owned by Bill McKay, Mrs. Umpherville' grandfather's (Joseph Cook) sister's son.

> Yes, we lived there. Yes with another fishermen. I cooked for them. For seven of them. … Seven guys fishing there. They took the fresh fish to the post. They call the post another [name] not this. This time Wollaston. He says part of big town, but before they call post. Just a store … and a plant, a fish plant… to buy the fish to ship to Lynn [Lake].

Later they both worked at Jackpine Lake with other families from Brochet such as the Bighettys, Merastys, Farrows and Michels. They worked for

> Stolbrocker. His name is Stolbrocker. He die now. He used to buy fish in summer. Even winter, and they fillet. I used to fillet myself.

Although unsure, Mrs. Umpherville thinks they worked there for more than three summers. The men would catch the fish and the women would fillet them at the plant.

> There were lots of us. About seven of us working in there. … In the morning 9:00 o'clock. I stop about 12:00 and we go back at 1:00 and, uh, we finish 5:00.

In the wintertime the plant was closed and they returned to Brochet where Mr. Umpherville trapped.

In 1955 Mr. and Mrs. Umpherville established their own home in Brochet when they purchased a small log cabin by the lake from Mrs. Sarazine Benoune. When they moved in, Mrs. Umpherville's aunt, Mrs. Marie Merasty, gave her a wooden table that her father had made for the Sandy Hills house. "It even had a drawer for knives." This table graced her kitchen until she bought a new arborite table. She then gave it to her brother, Rene Lapensée, for his home.

In winter Mr. Umpherville continued to work on the trapline with his brother-in-law Rene. They ran their trapline near Horseshoe Lake and lived with Mr. J. B. Merasty at his cabin. In the summer, Mr. Umpherville continued to fish, and because he was a good mechanic, he fixed outboard motors for other fishermen. Sometimes the men promised payment but didn't come through.[3]

In addition to looking after her children at home, Mrs. Umpherville cooked for four men at the radio station and attended to Mrs. Cummins, the wife of a Fish and Game Officer, who was mortally ill. Both she and her husband worked very hard to support their family, but even though there were many happy times, there were also many lean years. In 1960 Mrs. Niella Premachuk, an independent trader, established a trading post in Brochet. She had a strong impact on the community and in particular on Mrs. Umpherville. Mrs. Premachuk appreciated, collected, commissioned and sold beadwork. Through her patronage Mrs. Umpherville and other women in Brochet and surrounding areas were able to sew and bead for cash and/or groceries. Although Mrs. Umpherville had sewn and beaded before, it was not until the arrival of Mrs. Premachuk that she was finally able to devote sufficient time to her art and to develop the level of excellence for which she became known. Having a resident and reliable customer made an enormous difference to the time she could afford to spend on her art. Mrs. Premachuk stated that she bought crafts because the people needed money, and she sold beadwork to "white people and Indians" who needed special gifts and functional clothing. Over the years I have encountered both respect for and resentment toward Mrs. Premachuk and her business practices from Mrs. Umpherville and other women who also sewed and beaded for her. Mrs. Premachuk operated her trading post until 1978.

Although Mrs. Umpherville worked mostly for Mrs. Premachuk, she also took orders from teachers, nurses and other people who came to Brochet. Through these orders and mail orders, she was able to save money for herself and support many of her family's needs even after Mrs. Premachuk left. In 1992, Mrs. Umpherville underwent cancer surgery, which inhibited the use of her right arm. This operation, combined with failing eyesight, effectively brought an end to her beading career, although she did continue with small projects.

Brochet, its history and the land are part of Mrs. Umpherville and her work. Historic figures and even places that she would have only have heard about become alive for me in her stories. Her own experiences are intertwined with these stories and become a continuation of the same landscape.

---

[1] The area on the west side of the Cochrane River between Cann Lake and Thuycholeeni Lake was formally named Le Pensie on July 20, 1979 (Department of Mines, Resources, and Environmental Management 1979: 370) in recognition of Adolphe Lapensée's trading post and is so recognized on National Topographic System of Canada map sheet 64 K/6 (Province of Manitoba 1979). The spelling variation is likely due to local usage.

[2] Mrs. Umpherville appears to have just missed seeing the Inuit herself in Brochet. Her family left Brochet in the summer of 1938. In the winter of the same year a band of starving Inuit arrived and were given permission to remain and hunt in the vicinity of Reindeer Lake (Smith 1981b: 149; Smith & Burch 1979: 88).

A second and similar incident took place in the winter of 1946/47, prior to Mrs. Umpherville's return. A group of Inuit on the Upper Kazan River had neglected to put up an adequate supply of fish for the winter, gambling on the appearance of caribou during the general southward migration of the Kaminuriak herd in the fall. The herd failed to appear and by February the band had lost nearly one third of its number to starvation, including all the adult males (Harper 1964: 16-17). Dr. Robert Yule (Medical Superintendent of The Pas Agency, Department of National Health and Welfare) learned of the condition of the band while on a field trip to Brochet from Charles Schweder, who operated a trading post on Windy River in the Keewatin District. Schweder had turned all the food he could spare over to the starving Inuit before starting to Brochet by dog team for help. Dr. Yule organized an emergency flight of food supplies from The Pas through Brochet on March 12. The food was successfully delivered to the Windy River Post by relaying it from Neultin Lake via dog team to Windy River (Harper 1964: 51-52). It is significant that both Inuit and Euro-Canadians had continued to regard Brochet as a place of retreat during times of stress, in this case starvation.

The Inuit for their part remember these instances of assistance fondly. Yvon Csonka (1999: 130) recorded two Inuit reminiscences of assistance provided by the Chipewyan.

> When there was little or no caribou in our area, the Iqqiliit [Chipewyans] used to bring caribou to us. [Murjungniq]
>
> We were not scared of the Iqqiliit [Chipewyans] at all, they were nice and good, they would help us Inuit out when we were starving. [Ajau'naaq]

[3] In the 1970's, Mr. Umpherville was hired by the Brochet School Board to teach small motor mechanics to the boys in shop class. He allowed no nonsense in his class and provided me with sound advice for my woodworking portion of the class.

In 1966 he got a job with the Manitoba Hydro plant in Brochet. He continued in this position until 1987, when he retired and his son Clifford took over.

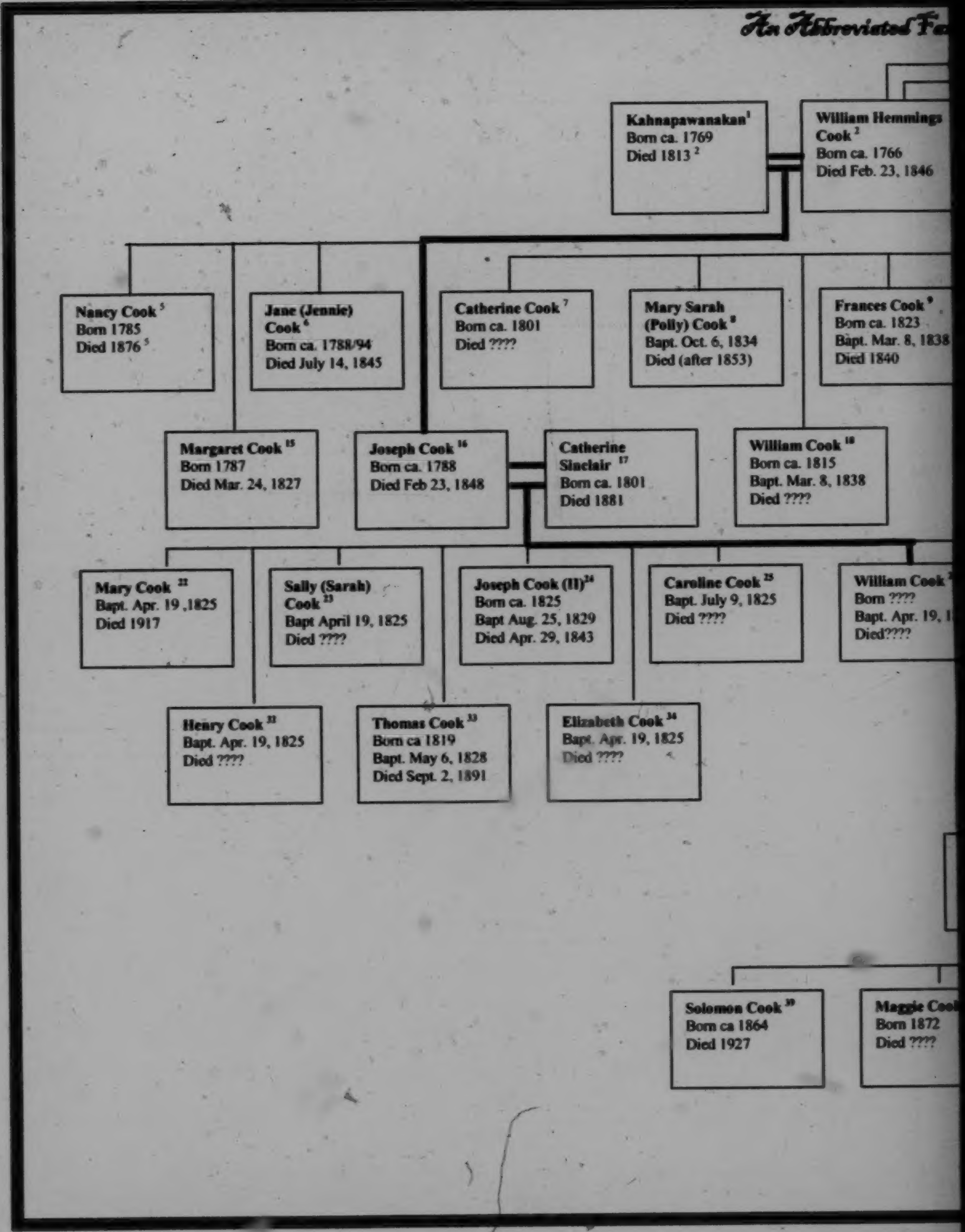
CHAPTER FOUR

METIS BY BIRTH

Philomene Umpherville (née Lapensée) can trace her ancestry back to the very beginnings of the Métis people in western Canada. (Historically speaking, the Cook family should be referred to as Half-breeds rather than Métis since they trace their ancestry, until quite recently, from English Protestant stock. However, current popular usage combines the English Protestant with the French Catholic under the general rubric of Métis that I shall here). Tracing the family tree is somewhat tortuous, but reveals a remarkably consistent link to the area that is now Manitoba and Saskatchewan and with the Hudson's Bay Company. The genealogical chart of the Cook family shown here, although greatly simplified, assists in the reconstruction of the family history. The chart is based on a paternal line of descent for Mrs. Umpherville's mother's family. The reason for this approach is two fold. First, Mrs. Umpherville has maintained that her family is descended from Red River settlers and the chart arguably demonstrates that by tracing the line of descent through William Cook. Secondly, this line of descent presents the greatest depth and the greatest support for her Métis status. Mrs. Umpherville identifies very strongly with her mother, her Aunt Elise, her Grandmother Marisis, and her Great Grandmother Marie Morin.

Family Origins

Philomene Umpherville's oldest known ancestor was William Hemmings Cook, born about 1766 of Anglican parents, John and Elizabeth Cook, in St. Andrews Parish in Holborn, London (HBC Archives, London Office Records: A.32/3, fo.148). At the age of twenty in 1786, William took passage aboard the *King George III* to York Factory in



An Abbreviated Fa

Kahnapawanakan[1]
Born ca. 1769
Died 1813 [2]

William Hemmings Cook [2]
Born ca. 1766
Died Feb. 23, 1846

Nancy Cook [5]
Born 1785
Died 1876 [5]

Jane (Jennie) Cook [6]
Born ca. 1788/94
Died July 14, 1845

Catherine Cook [7]
Born ca. 1801
Died ????

Mary Sarah (Polly) Cook [8]
Bapt. Oct. 6, 1834
Died (after 1853)

Frances Cook [9]
Born ca. 1823
Bapt. Mar. 8, 1838
Died 1840

Margaret Cook [15]
Born 1787
Died Mar. 24, 1827

Joseph Cook [16]
Born ca. 1788
Died Feb 23, 1848

Catherine Sinclair [17]
Born ca. 1801
Died 1881

William Cook [18]
Born ca. 1815
Bapt. Mar. 8, 1838
Died ????

Mary Cook [22]
Bapt. Apr. 19 ,1825
Died 1917

Sally (Sarah) Cook [23]
Bapt April 19, 1825
Died ????

Joseph Cook (II)[24]
Born ca. 1825
Bapt Aug. 25, 1829
Died Apr. 29, 1843

Caroline Cook [25]
Bapt. July 9, 1825
Died ????

William Cook
Born ????
Bapt. Apr. 19,
Died????

Henry Cook [32]
Bapt. Apr. 19, 1825
Died ????

Thomas Cook [33]
Born ca 1819
Bapt. May 6, 1828
Died Sept. 2, 1891

Elizabeth Cook [34]
Bapt. Apr. 19, 1825
Died ????

Solomon Cook [39]
Born ca 1864
Died 1927

Maggie Coo
Born 1872
Died ????

Figure 5.

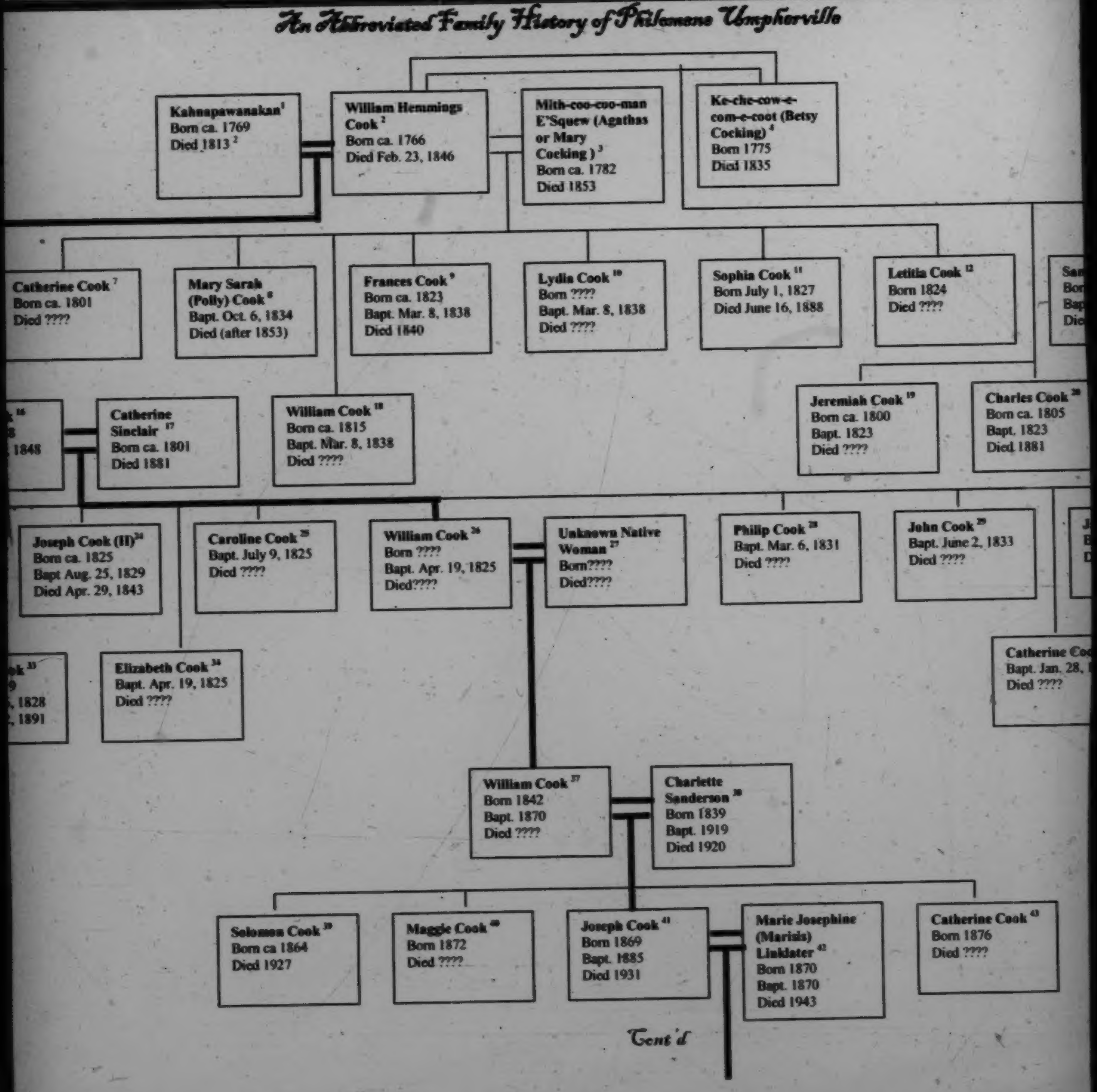
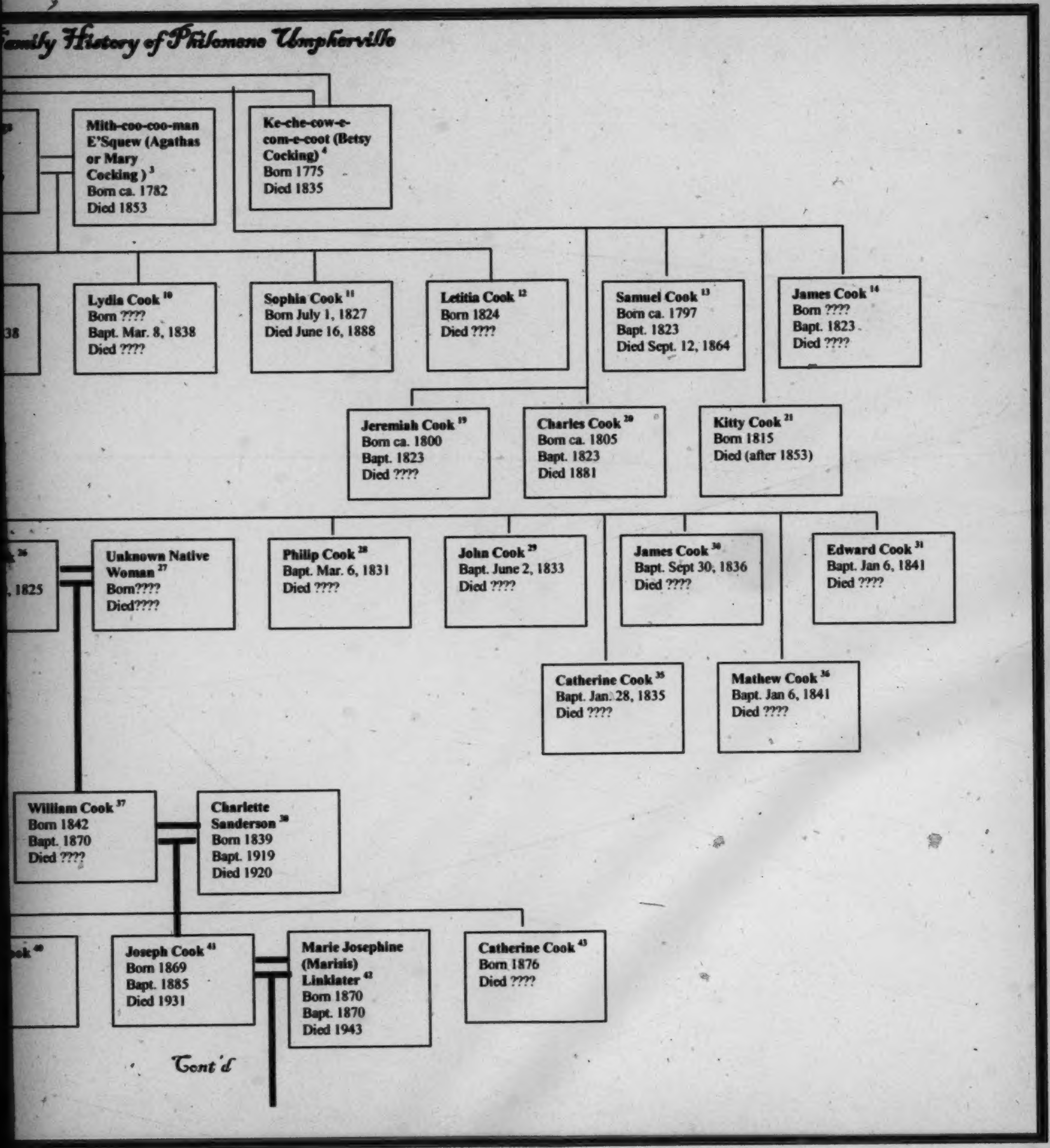
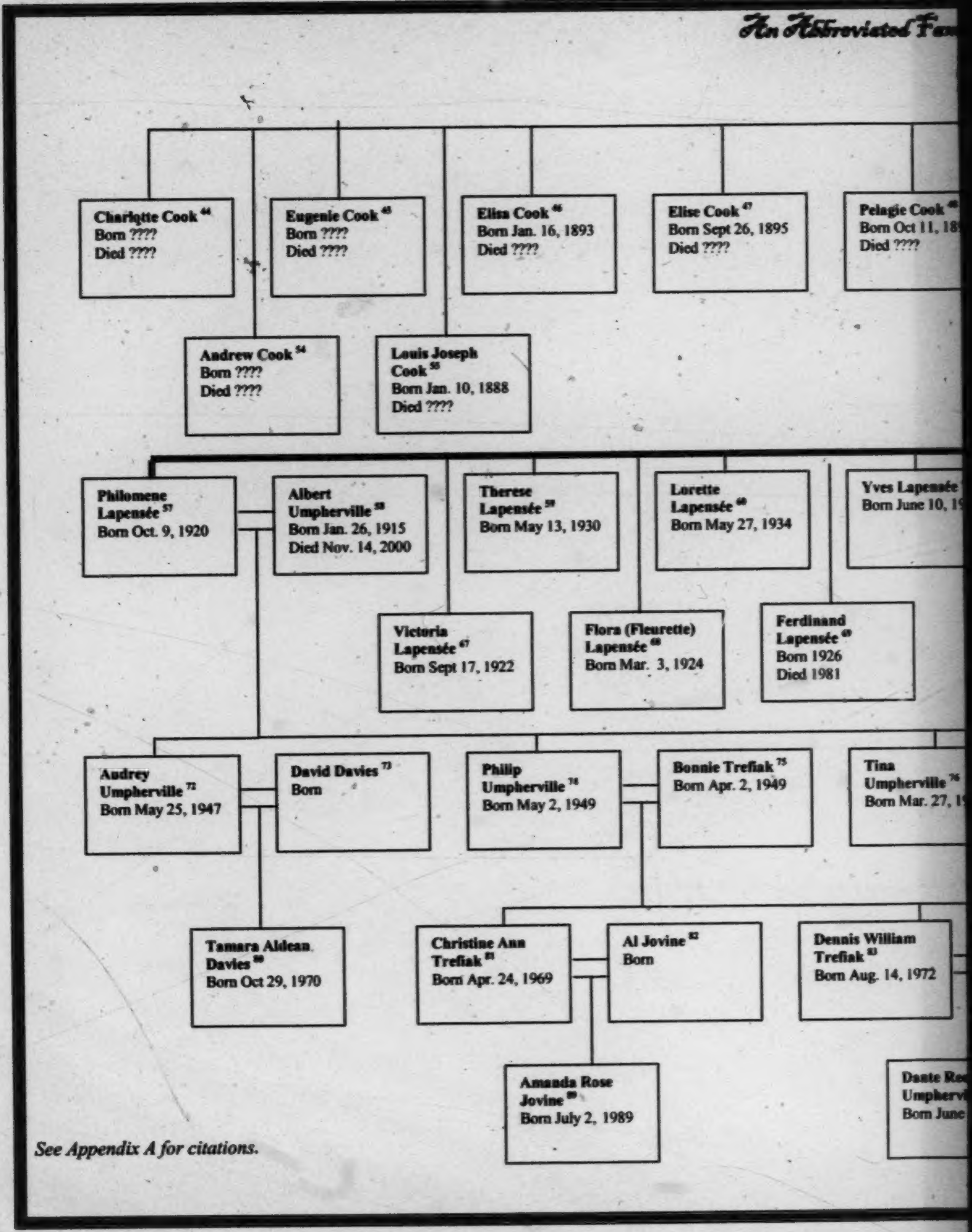

An Abbreviated Family History of Philomene Umpherville
Kahnapawanakan[1] Born ca. 1769 Died 1813[2]
William Hemmings Cook[2] Born ca. 1766 Died Feb. 23, 1846
Mith-coo-coo-man E'Squew (Agathas or Mary Cocking)[3] Born ca. 1782 Died 1853
Ke-che-cow-e-com-e-coot (Betsy Cocking)[4] Born 1775 Died 1835
Catherine Cook[7] Born ca. 1801 Died ????
Mary Sarah (Polly) Cook[8] Bapt. Oct. 6, 1834 Died (after 1853)
Frances Cook[9] Born ca. 1823 Bapt. Mar. 8, 1838 Died 1840
Lydia Cook[10] Born ???? Bapt. Mar. 8, 1838 Died ????
Sophia Cook[11] Born July 1, 1827 Died June 16, 1888
Letitia Cook[12] Born 1824 Died ????
Sa Bor Bap Die
[16] 8 1848
Catherine Sinclair[17] Born ca. 1801 Died 1881
William Cook[18] Born ca. 1815 Bapt. Mar. 8, 1838 Died ????
Jeremiah Cook[19] Born ca. 1800 Bapt. 1823 Died ????
Charles Cook[20] Born ca. 1805 Bapt. 1823 Died 1881
Joseph Cook (II)[24] Born ca. 1825 Bapt Aug. 25, 1829 Died Apr. 29, 1843
Caroline Cook[25] Bapt. July 9, 1825 Died ????
William Cook[26] Born ???? Bapt. Apr. 19, 1825 Died????
Unknown Native Woman[27] Born???? Died????
Philip Cook[28] Bapt. Mar. 6, 1831 Died ????
John Cook[29] Bapt. June 2, 1833 Died ????
J B D
ok[33] 9 , 1828 , 1891
Elizabeth Cook[34] Bapt. Apr. 19, 1825 Died ????
Catherine Co Bapt. Jan. 28, Died ????
William Cook[37] Born 1842 Bapt. 1870 Died ????
Charlotte Sanderson[38] Born 1839 Bapt. 1919 Died 1920
Solomon Cook[39] Born ca 1864 Died 1927
Maggie Cook[40] Born 1872 Died ????
Joseph Cook[41] Born 1869 Bapt. 1885 Died 1931
Marie Josephine (Marisis) Linklater[42] Born 1870 Bapt. 1870 Died 1943
Catherine Cook[43] Born 1876 Died ????
Cont'd

Figure 5.


amily History of Philomene Umpherville
s
Mith-coo-coo-man E'Squew (Agathas or Mary Cocking) 3
Born ca. 1782
Died 1853
Ke-che-cow-e-com-e-coot (Betsy Cocking) 4
Born 1775
Died 1835
38
Lydia Cook 10
Born ????
Bapt. Mar. 8, 1838
Died ????
Sophia Cook 11
Born July 1, 1827
Died June 16, 1888
Letitia Cook 12
Born 1824
Died ????
Samuel Cook 13
Born ca. 1797
Bapt. 1823
Died Sept. 12, 1864
James Cook 14
Born ????
Bapt. 1823
Died ????
Jeremiah Cook 19
Born ca. 1800
Bapt. 1823
Died ????
Charles Cook 20
Born ca. 1805
Bapt. 1823
Died 1881
Kitty Cook 21
Born 1815
Died (after 1853)
26
, 1825
Unknown Native Woman 27
Born????
Died????
Philip Cook 28
Bapt. Mar. 6, 1831
Died ????
John Cook 29
Bapt. June 2, 1833
Died ????
James Cook 30
Bapt. Sept 30, 1836
Died ????
Edward Cook 31
Bapt. Jan 6, 1841
Died ????
Catherine Cook 35
Bapt. Jan. 28, 1835
Died ????
Mathew Cook 36
Bapt. Jan 6, 1841
Died ????
William Cook 37
Born 1842
Bapt. 1870
Died ????
Charlette Sanderson 38
Born 1839
Bapt. 1919
Died 1920
ok 40
Joseph Cook 41
Born 1869
Bapt. 1885
Died 1931
Marie Josephine (Marisis) Linklater 42
Born 1870
Bapt. 1870
Died 1943
Catherine Cook 43
Born 1876
Died ????
Cont'd


An Abbreviated Fa
Charlotte Cook [44] Born ???? Died ????
Eugenie Cook [45] Born ???? Died ????
Elisa Cook [46] Born Jan. 16, 1893 Died ????
Elise Cook [47] Born Sept 26, 1895 Died ????
Pelagie Cook [48] Born Oct 11, 18 Died ????
Andrew Cook [54] Born ???? Died ????
Louis Joseph Cook [55] Born Jan. 10, 1888 Died ????
Philomene Lapensée [57] Born Oct. 9, 1920
Albert Umpherville [58] Born Jan. 26, 1915 Died Nov. 14, 2000
Therese Lapensée [59] Born May 13, 1930
Lorette Lapensée [60] Born May 27, 1934
Yves Lapensée Born June 10, 19
Victoria Lapensée [67] Born Sept 17, 1922
Flora (Fleurette) Lapensée [68] Born Mar. 3, 1924
Ferdinand Lapensée [69] Born 1926 Died 1981
Audrey Umpherville [72] Born May 25, 1947
David Davies [73] Born
Philip Umpherville [74] Born May 2, 1949
Bonnie Trefiak [75] Born Apr. 2, 1949
Tina Umpherville [76] Born Mar. 27, 1
Tamara Aldean Davies [80] Born Oct 29, 1970
Christine Ann Trefiak [81] Born Apr. 24, 1969
Al Jovine [82] Born
Dennis William Trefiak [83] Born Aug. 14, 1972
Amanda Rose Jovine [89] Born July 2, 1989
Dante Ro Umpherv Born June

See Appendix A for citations.

Figure 5.

An Abbreviated Family History of Philomene Umpherville

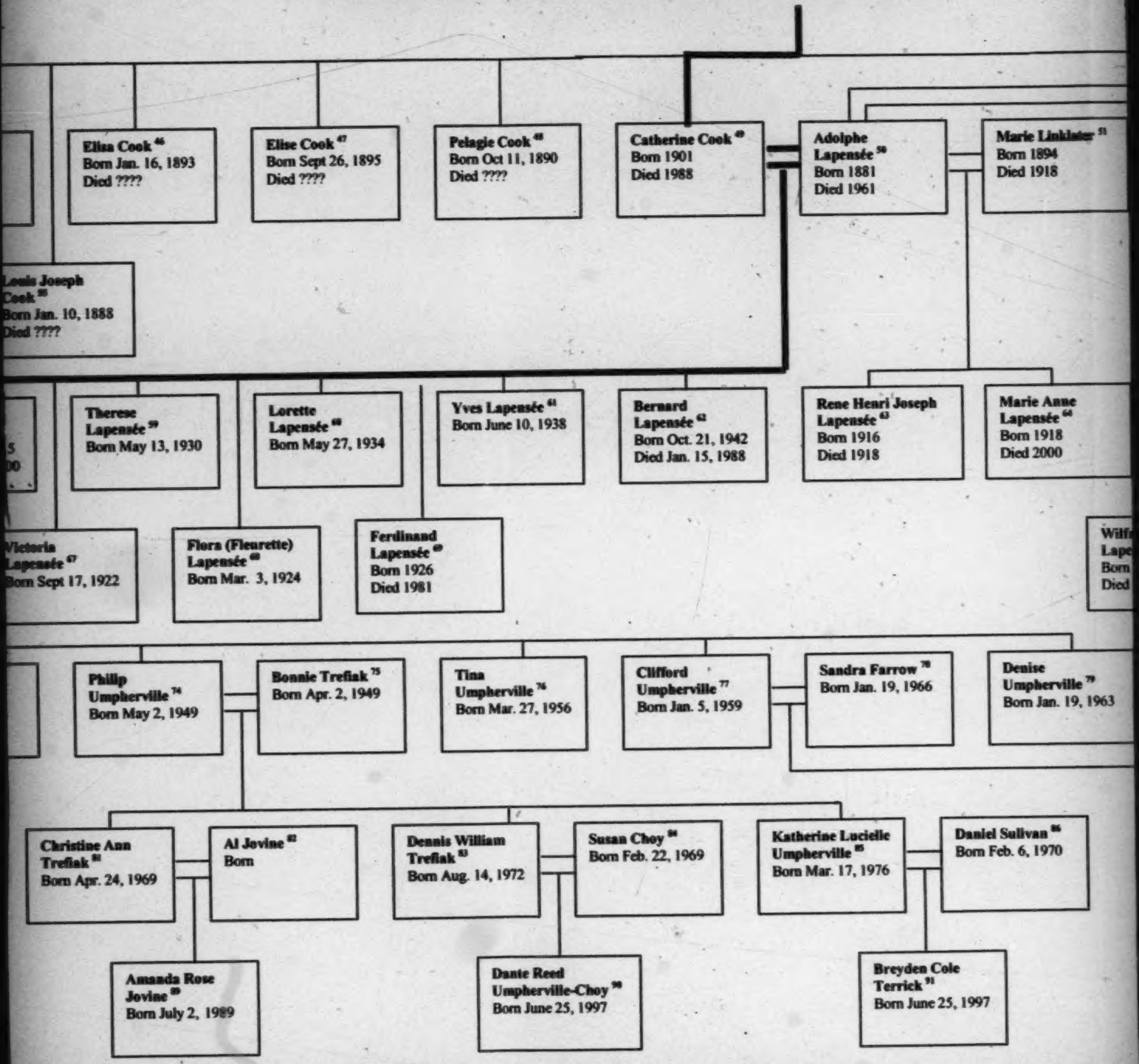
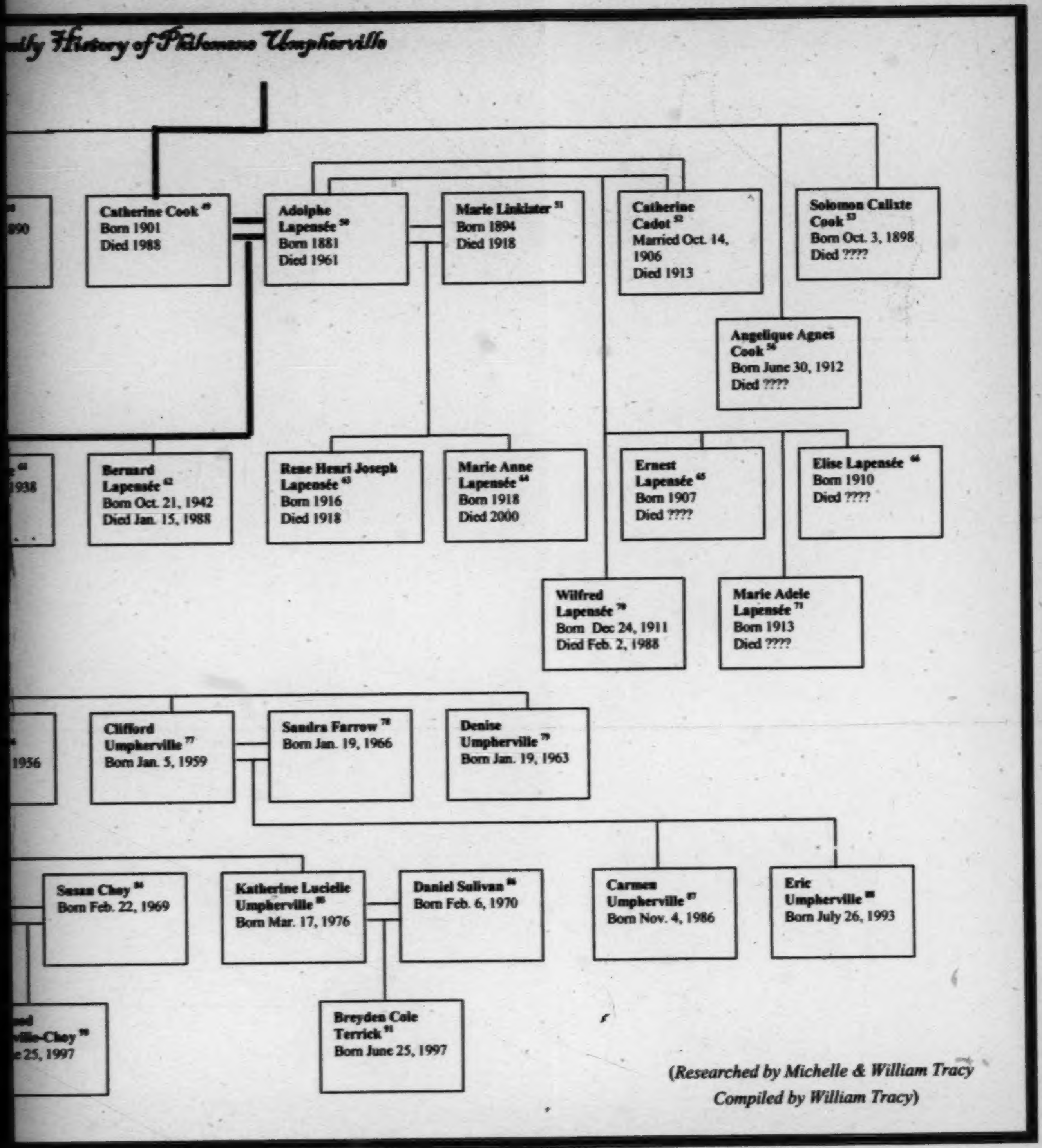

Elisa Cook [46] Born Jan. 16, 1893 Died ????
Elise Cook [47] Born Sept 26, 1895 Died ????
Pelagie Cook [48] Born Oct 11, 1890 Died ????
Catherine Cook [49] Born 1901 Died 1988
Adolphe Lapensée [50] Born 1881 Died 1961
Marie Linklater [51] Born 1894 Died 1918
Louis Joseph Cook [55] Born Jan. 10, 1888 Died ????
5
00
Therese Lapensée [59] Born May 13, 1930
Lorette Lapensée [60] Born May 27, 1934
Yves Lapensée [61] Born June 10, 1938
Bernard Lapensée [62] Born Oct. 21, 1942 Died Jan. 15, 1988
Rene Henri Joseph Lapensée [63] Born 1916 Died 1918
Marie Anne Lapensée [64] Born 1918 Died 2000
Victoria Lapensée [67] Born Sept 17, 1922
Flora (Fleurette) Lapensée [68] Born Mar. 3, 1924
Ferdinand Lapensée [69] Born 1926 Died 1981
Wilf Lape Born Died
Philip Umpherville [74] Born May 2, 1949
Bonnie Trefiak [75] Born Apr. 2, 1949
Tina Umpherville [76] Born Mar. 27, 1956
Clifford Umpherville [77] Born Jan. 5, 1959
Sandra Farrow [78] Born Jan. 19, 1966
Denise Umpherville [79] Born Jan. 19, 1963
Christine Ann Trefiak [81] Born Apr. 24, 1969
Al Jovine [82] Born
Dennis William Trefiak [83] Born Aug. 14, 1972
Susan Choy [84] Born Feb. 22, 1969
Katherine Lucielle Umpherville [85] Born Mar. 17, 1976
Daniel Sullivan [86] Born Feb. 6, 1970
Amanda Rose Jovine [89] Born July 2, 1989
Dante Reed Umpherville-Choy [90] Born June 25, 1997
Breyden Cole Terrick [91] Born June 25, 1997

Figure 5.


ily History of Philomene Umpherville
890
Catherine Cook [49]
Born 1901
Died 1988
Adolphe Lapensée [50]
Born 1881
Died 1961
Marie Linklater [51]
Born 1894
Died 1918
Catherine Cadot [52]
Married Oct. 14, 1906
Died 1913
Solomon Calixte Cook [53]
Born Oct. 3, 1898
Died ????
Angelique Agnes Cook [56]
Born June 30, 1912
Died ????
938
Bernard Lapensée [62]
Born Oct. 21, 1942
Died Jan. 15, 1988
Rene Henri Joseph Lapensée [63]
Born 1916
Died 1918
Marie Anne Lapensée [64]
Born 1918
Died 2000
Ernest Lapensée [65]
Born 1907
Died ????
Elise Lapensée [66]
Born 1910
Died ????
Wilfred Lapensée [70]
Born Dec 24, 1911
Died Feb. 2, 1988
Marie Adele Lapensée [71]
Born 1913
Died ????
1956
Clifford Umpherville [77]
Born Jan. 5, 1959
Sandra Farrow [78]
Born Jan. 19, 1966
Denise Umpherville [79]
Born Jan. 19, 1963
Susan Choy [84]
Born Feb. 22, 1969
Katherine Lucielle Umpherville [85]
Born Mar. 17, 1976
Daniel Sulivan [86]
Born Feb. 6, 1970
Carmen Umpherville [87]
Born Nov. 4, 1986
Eric Umpherville [88]
Born July 26, 1993
ville-Choy [89]
25, 1997
Breyden Cole Terrick [91]
Born June 25, 1997

(*Researched by Michelle & William Tracy*
Compiled by William Tracy)

Rupert's Land where he worked as a clerk for the Hudson's Bay Company, a posting for which he received 15 Pounds a year (HBC Archives, York Factory Post Journal: B. 239/a/86). The potential of the young clerk was evidently soon recognized. On September 10, 1790 he was sent inland up the Nelson River with nine company men to establish a post at Duck Lake. He returned to York Factory that winter (HBC Archives, York Factory Correspondence Book: B.239/b/51, fos.3-10d). On July 1, 1791 he set out again for Wintering Lake where he established Chatham House, in opposition to the post of William McKay of the Northwest Company (HBC Archives, York Factory Post Journal: B.239/a/91). After three years he went back to England on the *Prince of Wales I*, only to return to York Factory in 1795 aboard the *King George III* as an inland trader earning 60 Pounds a year (HBC Archives, York Factory Post Journal: B.239/a/92, 95, 96, 97; Ship's Log, *King George III*: C. 1/398; London Office Records: A.1/47. fo.49d). Two years later, he was in charge of the Hudson's Bay posts on the upper Nelson River (HBC Archives, York Factory Post Journal: B.239/a/102-107, 109, 111-115). By 1809 he was second in command at York Factory and a year later was appointed Chief Factor (HBC Archives, York Factory Correspondence Book: B.239/b/79, fo.55d; York Factory Post Journal: B.239/a/116-118, 120-121; London Office Records: A.30/14). His salary had risen to 100 Pounds a year plus at least an additional 50 Pounds under a new profit sharing scheme.

William had three country wives who bore him sixteen recorded children. His first wife, Kahnapawanakan (born ca 1769 and died in 1813), is the paternal great, great, great, great grandmother of Philomene Umpherville, who traces her roots through Kahnapawanakan's son Joseph Cook (Morin 1996: 218).

William resigned on April 23, 1819 to become a settler at the Red River Colony (HBC Archives, York Factory Post Journal: B.159/a/7). Cook, like many of his company colleagues, had become increasingly concerned over the fate of his numerous children. By 1821 Cook was established in the Red River Colony on a grant of 500 acres from the Hudson's Bay Company and a company annuity of 100 Pounds for seven years. He dabbled in trading, freighting and politics. He continually ran afoul of Governor George Simpson, who characterized him as "timid and weak", "useless from age and want of firmness", and a "most extraordinary mixture of generous eccentricity, Religion, Drunkeness and Misanthropy". In 1822 he had changed "his Residence about a Doz. difference times for as many absurd reasons". He quarreled frequently with other prominent settlers who had been his colleagues in the Company (Spry 1988: 206-207).

Cook passed away on February 23, 1846. His descendants would include not only countless Cooks, but Garriochs, Budds, Settees, Calders, Wrens and Erasmuses. Peter Garrioch, a grandson and trader and freighter at Red River, called him "the Father of us all" (Spry 1988: 207).

William Cook's eldest son, Joseph (1788-1848), followed his father into the employment of the Hudson's Bay Company first as a laborer at 15 in 1803, and later as an assistant trader, trader, and master (HBC Archives, London Office Records: A.16/34, fo.118; London Office Records: A.30/11, fo.34d-35; London Office Records: A.30/14,fo.16d-17; London Office Records: A.16/36). Like his father, he traveled once to England aboard the *King George III* on August 26, 1806 (HBC Archives, London Office Records: A.16/34, fo.118; Ship's Log *King George III*:

C.1/417, fo.1d). The purpose of his trip is uncertain, although it may well have been for education. By 1808 he was back in York Factory as an Assistant Trader (HBC Archives, London Office Records: A.16/34, fo.118). In terms of family history, his employment as an assistant trader in 1814 at Cumberland House may be considered a significant event (HBC Archives, London Office Records: A.30/14, fo.16d-17). This was the first recorded appearance of a member of the Cook family in the part of the country that would continue to play a prominent role in family history throughout the century. Joseph remained at Cumberland House from 1815-1818 as a trader (HBC Archives, London Office Records: A.16/36).

He retired from his service to the Hudson Bay Company in 1824 (HBC Archives, London Office Records: A.16/42, fo. 31; Minutes of Council, York Factory: B.239/k/1, p. 94). Later that year on October 27, he married Catherine Sinclair, daughter of William Sinclair senior and Margaret Nahovway. The Reverend D. T. Jones officiated at the ceremony (HBC Archives, Index and Register of Marriages and Burials: E.4/1, fo.212). Joseph shared his father's concern to secure "a retreat for our children" (Spry 1988: 206). He sired 14 children, at least some of whom were born before their wedding. The1835 census found him living on River Lot 41 in St. Paul, near his father's farm (River Lot 44) in the Red River Colony. Twelve persons were living on his 14-acre farm. He owned 2 horses, 10 head of cattle, 2 carts and 3 farm implements (Sprague & Fry 1983: Table 2 – Family size, personal property, location of landowners).

Although not a direct line ancestor of Mrs. Umpherville, Joseph's son Thomas (ca. 1819-1891) is also illustrative of the status of the family. Like Joseph, Thomas was a resident of the Red River Colony. Thomas was St. Peter's schoolmaster at the time of his marriage to Catherine Mackenzie (Provincial Archives of Manitoba, St. Peter's marriage records 1851-1890). By the time of his second marriage to Anne Bruce, he was a catechist and resident of St. John's College School (Provincial Archives of Manitoba, St. John's marriage records 1854-1882). According to family tradition, Thomas may have moved from Red River to Pelican Narrows (in what is now Saskatchewan) between 1848 and 1870. In one interview Mrs. Umpherville identified Thomas Cook (ca. 1819-1891) as Joseph's father. However, she is not absolutely firm on this point (Philip Umpherville, personal communication August 29, 2000) and this point is not consistent with Oblate records that identify Joseph's father as William (born 1842, baptized 1870).

What is significant here is that the Cooks are maintaining their Protestant Métis status by marrying women from prominent Protestant Métis families such as the Sinclairs, Mackenzies, and Bruces. The previous generation was as likely to marry Native women as Métis women. William Hemmings Cook's first wife, Kahnapawanakan, was most likely a Native rather than a Métis. Miles Macdonell, leader of the Red River colonists acidly commented on the domestic arrangements of William Cook in 1812.

> It may easily be supposed that a chief who occupies himself in the Mess room with a squaw occupying an apartment on each side opening into it, would not be very desirous of having his family arrangements deranged by visitors [HBC Archives, Selkirk Papers: Copy No. 154, pp. 62-63].

Raymond Beaumont (1992: 170) has built a case that William Hemmings Cook's second wife Mith-coo-coo-man-E'squew (alias Agathas or Mary Cocking) was the daughter of Matthew Cocking and A-pis-ta-Squa-sish and thus a Métis. His third wife was likely the sister of his second wife.

It is with the beginning of the second generation of Cooks that the genealogical records become somewhat hazy and one must rely more on logic and inference. The difficulty occurs as the Cooks begin to move out of the Red River Colony northwest into what is now Saskatchewan. Records are scant. The Hudson's Bay records were beginning to fail, particularly with regard to the smaller, more isolated and shorter-lived posts. At the same time the Cooks were moving ahead of the Anglican Church, so Anglican records are also spotty. I am confident that William Cook, born in 1842, was the great grandfather of Philomene Umpherville (Archdiocese of Keewatin – Les Pas Marriage and Baptismal Certificates). I also know that his father's name was also William and that his father was baptized on April 19, 1825 (HBC Archives, Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1.fo.55).

What I am less certain of is which Cook from the first generation of Cooks born in Rupert's Land was the father of William (baptized 1825). The situation is confused by the fact that William was a favorite family name. William Hemmings Cook had six sons who might have produced William Cook (baptized 1825), father of William Cook (born 1842). Of the six sons of William Hemmings Cook, four had sons whom they also named William, presumably after their paternal grandfather. The following table summarizes the case to be made for each William.

Figure 6.

The Sons and Grandsons of William Hemmings Cook

Names of William Hemmings Cook's sons	**Name of son's relevant child**	**Commentary**
Joseph (1788-1848)	William Cook Bapt. April 19, 1825 (HBCA Records)	This appears to be the most likely candidate. His mother was born in 1801 and married to his father on Oct. 27,1824. She had already borne William and four other children by the time they were all baptized on April 29, 1825. Clearly they were married after the fact; eldest, named for his father, and was probably born between 1818 and 1820 making him somewhere between 22 and 24 when his son William was born in 1842.
William (1815-18??)	William Cook Born Dec. 25, 1840 Married 1861 to Margaret Smith (Morin 1996: 224)	He was too young to have been the Father of William Cook in 1842.
Samuel (1797-1864)	William James Cook Bapt. April 10, 1839 (Morin 1996: 221)	William James must have been born in 1835 and baptized in1839, so he was too young to have been the father of William Cook born in 1842.

Jeremiah (ca 1800-????)	William Cook Bapt. Oct. 23 1836 Died 1859 (Morin 1996: 223)	Given the marriage date of Jeremiah and the baptism dates of the other children, it would appear that they were baptized on a regular basis and close to their birth dates. Thus, this William Cook would have been too young to be the father of the William Cook born in 1842.
James (Bapt. 1823-????)	No record of marriage or a son William (Morin 1996: 224)	
Charles (1805-1881)	No record of a son William (Morin 1996: 223-4)	Married in (1) 1836 and again in (2) 1844 All of his children were born too late to be the father of the William Cook born in 1842.

The Cooks on Reindeer Lake

William Cook (baptized April 19, 1825) married (?) an unknown woman probably in the La Ronge area. The data here is contradictory. That is, his son William Cook (born in 1842) is recorded as being both born in Brochet and as having moved from La Ronge to Brochet. Both pieces of information are from the same baptismal certificate that certifies that he was baptized in Brochet on June 4, 1870 by Bishop Vital Grandin, O.M.I. (Archdioceses of Keewatin – Le Pas, Marriage and Baptismal Certificates). It is possible that he was born in the Brochet area while his father was in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company operating a seasonal trading post on Reindeer Lake, but working out of the La Ronge post. There is, however, no substantive proof that he was in the employ of the Bay and trading was sporadic on Reindeer Lake at this time.

William Cook's 1870 baptism certainly connects the Cooks firmly with the early history of Brochet. Even by the most conservative of estimates, Cook was baptized only eleven years after the Hudson's Bay Company founded the permanent trading post there and nine years after the mission was founded. And indeed, he may have been there earlier.

William Cook (born 1842) produced at least two sons who continued the family tradition of working for the Bay. A grand uncle of Philomene Umpherville, Solomon Cook, was born in La Ronge in Saskatchewan in 1864 (Baptismal Certificate, Archdioceses of Keewatin – Le Pas). He began work with the Hudson's Bay Company at age twelve. However, the Bay employment records (HBC Archives, Unclassified Accountant's Department Material, Fur Trade Retired Servants Records) list his birth date as 1860, suggesting he may have been a large boy who exaggerated his age in order to gain employment. He worked as a laborer for the Company from 1876-1911 at Lac du Brochet (i.e. Brochet) in the Saskatchewan District (HBC Archives, Unclassified Accountant's Department Material, Fur Trade Retired Servants Records). His position from 1911 to 1917 is described as interpreter (HBC Archives, Unclassified Fur Trade Department Material, Fur Trade Character Reports, Clerk & Postmaster, 1911 & 1912, p. 107). From 1917 to 1924 he worked as a Clerk (HBC Archives, Unclassified Fur Trade Department Material, Records of Service). Solomon received a gold medal and three bars service award in May of 1921. He retired on June 1, 1924 after 48 years of service with a pension of $320 plus a $280 grant. He also received board and lodging to Prince Albert, Saskatchewan (HBC Archives, Fur Trade Servants Records R33/40A/2). He died just three years later, on April 30, 1927 at age 62 (HBC Archives, Unclassified Fur Trade Department Material, Records of Service).

William Cook's second son Joseph (1869-1931) is Philomene Umpherville's maternal grandfather. There is some confusion regarding the particulars of his birth. The marriage and baptismal records of the Archdioceses of Keewatin – Le Pas show that Joseph was born on Caribou Lake (i.e. Reindeer Lake) on December 31, 1869 and baptized on September 2, 1885 (the day of his wedding to Marie Linklater). Yet Mrs. Umpherville is certain that he came from Stanley Mission and was married there. There is some basis for this belief. Joseph's mother, Charlette Sanderson (1839-1920), was born in La Ronge as was his older brother Solomon (ca. 1864-1927) (Archdioceses of Keewatin – Le Pas, Certificates of Baptism). Joseph's father William was also born in La Ronge and presumably married his wife Charlette there (Archdioceses of Keewatin – Le Pas, Certificate of Baptism). Stanley Mission is only a few miles from La Ronge and may easily have been confused with La Ronge in either the Oblate records or by Mrs. Umpherville.

Marie (Marisis) Josephine Linklater, Mrs. Umpherville's maternal grandmother and wife of Joseph Cook (1869-1931), was born in Brochet on July 17, 1870 the daughter of Peter (Pierre) Linklater and Marie Morin (Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas, Certificate of Baptism). While she may have met Joseph Cook there, recall that Mrs. Umpherville believes that Joseph was married in Stanley

Mission, only later moving to Brochet. The Oblate church records indicate that Joseph was born at Caribou Lake and married in Brochet. The veracity of the church records is, however, questionable. The baptismal certificate of Marie (Marisis) Linklater (1870-1943) indicates that her father was Pierre Linklater when his name was Peter.

Plate 16.

Liza and Marie (Marisis) Linklater, 1927
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene Umpherville

Joseph was baptized and married on the same day, Wednesday September 2, 1885. This is apparently the first conversion of faith in the direct lineage of Mrs. Umpherville, herself a strong Catholic. Interestingly, she believes that Joseph's wife Marie was the one who converted. Marie, however, was born on July 20, 1870 in Brochet and baptized August 27, 1870 making her an unlikely target for conversion (Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas, Certificate of Baptism). At any rate, Joseph and Marie (Marisis) spent some years in Pelican Narrows, apparently having moved from Brochet early in their married life. According to Mrs. Umpherville, Joseph, like his brother Solomon, worked for the Hudson's Bay Company. The move may have been connected with his employment. Their first five children (Louis Joseph, Pelagie, Elisa, Elise, and Salomon Calixte) were born in Pelican Narrows between 1888 and 1898. Their daughter Catherine was the first of their children to be born in Brochet in 1901 (Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas, Certificates of Baptism). The family must then have moved to Brochet between 1898 and 1901.

Mrs. Umpherville's mother and grandmother told her that her (Mrs. Umpherville's) great grandmother Marie Morin (Marie [Marisis] Linklater's mother) could remember the Riel rebellion. It is with Marie that Mrs. Umpherville makes her earliest strong family connection. Mrs. Umpherville may refer to the 1885 Rebellion because she speaks of "that time Louis Riel [was] hanged". According to Mrs. Umpherville, her great grandmother was "young" at that time. "He [she] run away from Winnipeg. They goes to Southend [the south end of Reindeer Lake] hiding there in the bush". However, this account also sounds suspiciously like the Métis dispersal after the 1869-1870 Red River Rebellion. That is, it seems less likely that they would "run away" from the Red River Colony after the 1885 Rebellion, which had its roots in the Northwest in what is now Saskatchewan. Mrs. Umpherville was speaking from the perspective of a person who was 78 at the time. "Young" may also be thought of as a contrasting adjective to indicate that her great grandmother was not old at the time of the described event. At any rate, Marie Morin must have eventually found her way to Brochet because her daughter Marie (Marisis) Josephine Linklater was born there. Emphasizing a direct family connection with the 1869-1870 Red River Rebellion would help to strengthen Mrs. Umpherville's identification with her Métis roots in much the same way that women in the United States define a personal connection with American history by joining the Daughters of the American Revolution or the Daughters of the Confederacy.

The identification of Mrs. Umpherville with three generations of women – her mother, grandmother and great grandmother – is quite strong. The standards that Mrs. Umpherville's mother and grandmother set for her as accomplished seamstresses, embroiderers, and quillworkers have influenced her greatly. She has tried to emulate their work in her own sewing and beadwork. She is also proud of their position within Brochet and how well her mother was able to adapt to life in Plantagenet. Her great grandmother, Marie Morin, inspires a sense of awe in her as she tells the story of the Riel Rebellion. One of her aunts also had a major impact on her life, her mother's sister Elise who taught her to bead. (Plate 17.) Indeed, her personal connection with the maternal side of the family is stronger than the paternal one, although she is proud of the Lapensée family contribution and her French heritage.

It is interesting to note that Mrs. Umpherville's knowledge of family history begins to break down about the 1870s. That is, she retains some of the knowledge of events of that time period (e.g. perhaps the Métis dispersement) but begins to lose control of the time frame within which they occurred and the particular family members to whom they relate. Almost no knowledge exists prior to about 1870, except the belief that the family traces its roots to the Red River Colony and possibly to the name Thomas Cook.

Plate 17.

Elise Benoune (née Cook) holding Marie Cook Benoune
Wollaston Lake, Saskatchewan, ca. 1937
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene Umpherville

This should come as no surprise. Indeed, it is surprising that nearly 130 years of family oral history has been retained.

Lapensées on Reindeer Lake

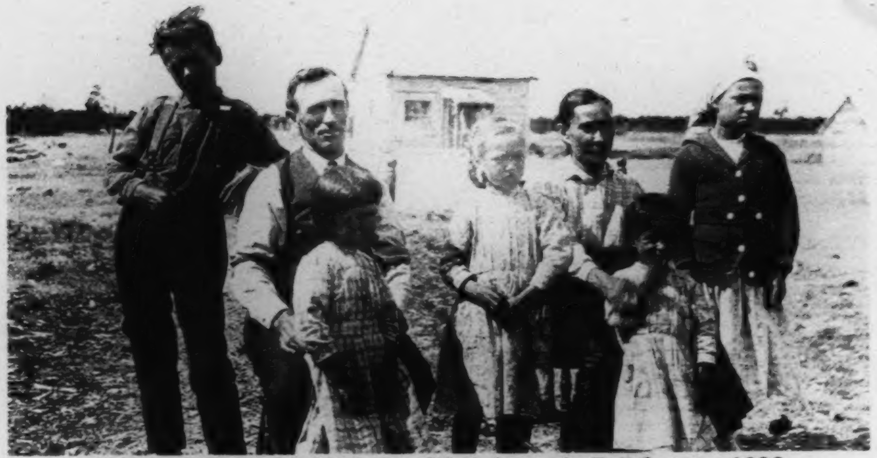
Mrs. Umpherville's father Adolphe Lapensée married Catherine Cook in Brochet on January 6, 1920. This was the third marriage for Lapensée, who had been twice widowed. He had previously married Catherine Cadotte (died August 29,1913) and Marie Linklater (died May 20, 1918). He had four and two children respectively from the previous marriages (Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas, Certificates of Baptism and Marriage). Lapensée had been born in the French community of Plantagenet, Ontario on September 30, 1881. Like so many members of the Cook family into which he eventually

Plate 18.

Adolphe Lapensée, 1906
Prince Albert, Saskatchewan
William J. James, photographer [1]
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene Umpherville

married, he found employment with the Hudson's Bay Company. He was first employed as a clerk at Cumberland House from 1904 to 1906. He then taught school there until June of 1917, when he rejoined the Company, this time as a clerk in Brochet. In two years he was promoted to Post Manager in Brochet, earning an annual stipend of $720. He retired on September 30, 1922 citing ill health (HBC Archives: Fur Trade Servants Records, R33/40A/2). [2]

Plate 19.



Umpherville family in front of their home in Brochet, ca. 1928
(Left to right) Rene, Adolphe, Victoria, Philomene, Catherine, Flora, Marie Anne
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene Umpherville

Although the foregoing discussion has established Mrs. Umpherville's Métis ancestry, it is important to note that she has not always identified herself as such. Michael Fischer (1986: 195) states, "Ethnicity is not something that is simply passed on from generation to generation, taught and learned; it is something dynamic, often unsuccessfully repressed or avoided." In the late 1970s while I was living in Brochet, Mrs. Umpherville was likely to slip from one role to another as the social situation warranted. She variously presented herself as Cree, French, or Métis, all of which on one level or another she could legitimately claim to be. It was not that she experienced an epiphany whereby she changed her identity from Cree to Métis as Trudy Nicks (1985: 103-114) has suggested for "Mary Anne", an artisan who sold her beadwork to the Provincial Museum of Alberta. Rather, Mrs. Umpherville sees herself as legitimately all of the above and could see no reason, until recently, to limit her identity. In many ways, she manipulates her identity in response to the expectation of the person with whom she was interacting.

In the following example, Mrs. Umpherville responded in the manner she thought appropriate. One evening while I was visiting her and her husband, a local pilot dropped by to place an order for a pair of mukluks. Before the pilot arrived the three of us were engaged in a lively conversation full of laughter and good humor. Mr. Umpherville was playing the spoons. However, the pilot's arrogant tone and specific demands created a somber and almost non-communicative mood. Directions concerning the order were received with shrugs and monosyllabic answers. As soon as the pilot left, the mood returned to the previous state that now included numerous jibes about the pilot who had incurred Mrs. Umpherville's displeasure by being too specific about the style and lack of decoration he wanted on the mukluks. Mrs. Umpherville's final remarks were that she had a poor piece of moose hide somewhere in the back that she would use for his order and charge him the same price as she would for a pair of beaded mukluks. He wouldn't know the difference. Although Mrs. Umpherville didn't make him mukluks out of poor moose hide, he did pay more and it gave her some relief to openly laugh at his lack of respect. I suspect that he was perfectly happy with his mukluks, blissfully unaware that he had both paid more than he should have and more importantly that he had missed the opportunity to own a pair of beaded mukluks from one of the finest beaders in the North.

In the early1990s as a result of Bill C31, Mrs. Umpherville felt pressure to gain treaty status on the basis of her mother's Cree identity. She felt that treaty status would assure her superior health coverage. Although the local Oblate priest, Father

Darveau, attempted to assist her in obtaining her treaty card, in the end he advised her to abandon the enterprise because he could not establish her Cree affiliation adequately. At this time, Mrs. Umpherville chose to assert her Métis identity as predominant.

The band council of the Chief Bear Reserve (formerly the John Smith Reserve, part of the Duck Lake Agency in Saskatchewan) offered Mrs. Umpherville's husband, Albert, "a place on the reserve and to be taken care of". The offer was based on his mother's (Flora Ann Flett) status as a treaty member of the Chief Bear Reserve. Although he maintained that he had never lived as an Indian or thought of himself as an Indian, he eventually relented and accepted treaty status for the medical benefits.

Albert could trace his roots to Edward Umfreville (born ca. 1755) thereby firmly establishing his own Métis connections. Their children (Audrey, Philip, Tina, Clifford and Denise) were all successful in obtaining treaty status through their father and his mother.

---

[1] William J. James was Prince Albert's pioneer photographer. Adolph Lapensée's portrait was taken at his studio at 31 Eight Street East, which James operated from 1890 until 1917, when he moved to his second location where he continued to practice his profession for another 20 years. The Saskatchewan Archives Board today houses his immense collection of negatives and prints (Silversides 1989: 47). Lapensée probably had this formal studio portrait taken in the summer of 1906, after he had terminated his employment with the Hudson's Bay Company at Cumberland House and before he began his teaching career, also in Cumberland House.

[2] Interestingly, Mrs. Umpherville's son Clifford and her grandson Carmen are continuing the family's traditional involvement with the Hudson's Bay Company. Clifford is an assistant store manager, a department manager and a credit manager of the Brochet Northwest Company store, the Hudson's Bay Company's successor. Although he has been offered several promotions to store manager, he has declined

them all since such a promotion would involve leaving the community. His son Carmen worked in the store after school and on weekends. The family has been employed by the Bay and its various manifestations for nine generations over three centuries.

CHAPTER FIVE

HIDE PREPARATION ROCESS

The tradition of home tanning caribou and moose hides has persisted through the twentieth century. The purpose of tanning has always been fourfold: to remove the fat, meat and connective tissue under the skin; to remove the epidermis layer with the hair (when desirable); to treat the stiffened fibres of the skin to make them as soft and flexible as possible; and to preserve the skin (Hatt 1969: 11). These purposes are attained all across the subarctic and arctic by similar means, although the specific details of the process may differ among various groups.

It is unlikely, however, that home tanning will continue in its present form much beyond the current generation of elders. Fewer and fewer people know how to tan a caribou hide properly. In Mrs. Umpherville's family, only her son Clifford has remained in the community and continues to hunt caribou with his sons. Her daughter Tina, a school councillor, has learned to tan hides, and although her other two daughters may know how to in principle, they do not tan hides.

Caribou Hide Tanning

Caribou hide tanning takes place in the spring in Brochet. It is not practical to tan hides in the winter because extreme cold freezes the hides and makes working outdoors unpleasant. If the tanning were to be delayed until summer, the hides might rot. The skinned hides with hair still attached from the winter hunt are stored in sheds in bundles with the hair side out through the winter months.

In the spring of 1980, Brochet experienced an early break-up and warm spring, which caused the ice on the lake to become unstable and made travelling by snow machine unsafe. At the time, I was teaching grades eight and nine, which included supervising a work experience program. The boys worked on a trap line while the girls had a work experience placement in town. Because of the rapidly deteriorating ice on the lake I was unable to supervise the boys on the trap line. However, I was most fortunate in being able to participate in a work experience myself.

Mrs. Angelique Linklater's sons, all fine hunters, had brought her over thirty caribou hides, which she bundled and set aside for tanning in the spring. Mrs. Linklater was in her seventies at the time and had cracked a bone in her wrist from the exertion of fleshing over a dozen hides. She offered Mrs. Umpherville eighteen of her hides. Mrs. Umpherville agreed to take them if she could find someone to help her with the tanning. My husband and I were willingly drafted into service.

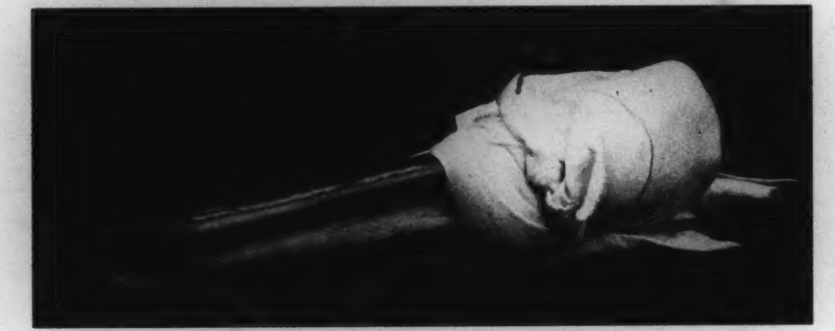
The most important part of the skin treatment is the removal of the subcutaneous tissue and the attached remnants of fat and meat that are subject to rot (Hatt 1969: 13). Caribou hide tanning differs somewhat from moose hide tanning due to the relative thinness of the hide. Mrs. Umpherville does not use a stretching frame when removing the attached fat and meat or, later, the hair. The rationale is that the pressure exerted on the lace islets would almost certainly cause the caribou hide to tear during fleshing.[1] Instead the hide, with the hair still attached, is inverted over a post set firmly in the ground. (Plate 20)

Plate 20.

William Tracy fleshing a caribou hide
Spring 1980

The hide is then fleshed utilizing a bone flesher made from a moose metatarsal. (Plate 21) The metatarsal is cut at an angle to form a chisel-shaped working edge. The edge has been reported by some ethnographers to be serrated (Smith 1981b: 279). Birket-Smith (1930: 61), for instance, reported that among the Caribou Eskimo the edge is sometimes serrated. My own experience suggests that although a serrated edge is more common in Brochet, it is not a necessary requirement for the functioning of the tool. Serrated and non-serrated edges were found to work equally well. Mr. Umpherville made me a non-serrated flesher as illustrated in Plate 21. I wrapped fabric around the distal end of the flesher to form a sling for the wrist, which provides wrist support and greater leverage for the fleshing process. The heavy hair of the hide helps cushion the flesher and prevents tearing. A caribou metatarsal is not used because it is judged to be too brittle and subject to cracking and splitting. It is also felt that it cannot be sharpened properly. The hide is rotated on the pole until the excess fat, meat and tissue have been removed. The removal of this material also coincides with the beginning of the important mechanical process of breaking the fibres in the hide (Hatt: 1969: 13, 20).

Plate 21.



Fleshing tool made by Albert Umpherville, 1980
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

One of the more unpleasant side effects of fleshing a caribou hide is striking a warble fly larva that has burrowed into the hide. When struck with a flesher, they tend to explode like pustules. These areas will later open up into holes during the tanning process.[2]

Tanners would sometimes leave the hair on the hides intended for use as either sewing blankets or clothes. When hides were to be used for these purposes, the flesh was removed and the hides, with the hair still attached, were thoroughly washed in Tide®, a synthetic detergent in which an active agent, an anionic surfactant, such as sodium lauryl sulfate, is found (N. Kerr, personal communication, August 30, 2002). This surfactant attracts and removes particulate matter and, more importantly, excess fats that would otherwise quickly cause the hide to deteriorate. Two to three year old caribou were considered best for blankets because their hide was thinner and their hair was "kind of curly". When Mrs. Umpherville's mother made caribou blankets, she would sew a flannel lining made from fabric purchased at the store to the inside so that the sleeper's skin would not touch the leather of the hide. Mrs. Umpherville found the thought of her skin touching the leather repugnant. It may have been that she thought the leather unclean in a physical sense. The flannel lining also lengthened the life of the blanket because it could be removed, washed and sewn back in.

It took four square caribou hides sewn together with sinew to make a blanket big enough for four people. When Mrs. Umpherville was a child, her family had several such blankets. Her father bought iron beds and mattresses from the store; however, she also remembers sleeping on mattresses made from washed caribou hair and ticking. Her grandmother, her mother and other people made these mattresses for wooden platform beds. The mattresses were "so warm with just blankets on top". Later, when she returned to Brochet she made her own caribou hair mattress. She ordered the ticking from the Army and Navy Catalogue from Regina. "It was cheap. Nice and thick. You don't want the hair to bite. I sewed it like a bag. Nice clean hair, no blood or nothing." After she got a store bought mattress, she threw it out. The Hudson's Bay Company never sold mattresses in Brochet until regular supply planes brought them.

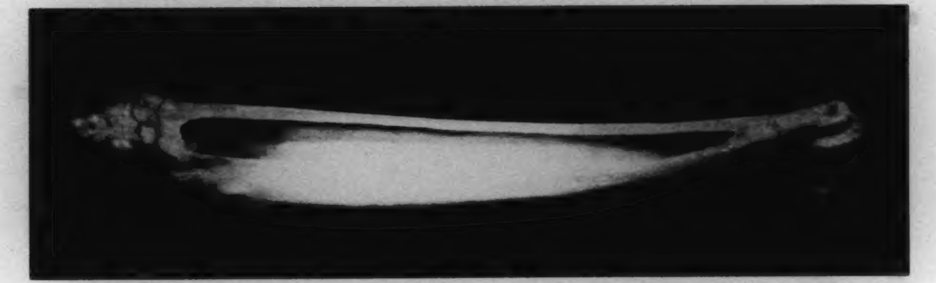
Older animals were used for coats. However, the use of caribou hides with the hair attached for clothing had nearly vanished by the time of my two-year tenure in Brochet (1978-1980). I saw only three such garments. One was a vest made by my friend, Dorothy Inglis, as a special order for a Calm Air pilot. Another was a pair of mukluks from Wollaston Lake in Saskatchewan. A second pair of mukluks made from caribou skin with the hair attached was seen in the Native Friendship Centre in Lynn Lake. It had been made in Lac Brochet. Dorothy Inglis also made two knife sheathes from the shins of caribou when she was "just fooling around".

When the hide is to be used for its leather, the hair is cut off with a long, sharp knife by draping the hide over the thigh of the tanner and drawing the knife along the epidermis of the hide away from the tanner. Once the hair has been removed in this manner, the hide is again draped over a post.

Plate 22.

Michelle Tracy and Mrs. Umpherville
Cutting hair from caribou hides
Spring 1980

Plate 23.



Beamer or two-handed scraper made by Albert Umpherville, 1980
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

A second tool called a beamer, a two-handed scarper, is made from the metatarsal of a caribou. The bone is cut to form an ellipse parallel to the length of the bone. The marrow is removed and one side sharpened. The tanner grasps the beamer on either end in both hands and draws the scraping edge repeatedly down the exterior surface of the hide. The motion is much like that made when using a draw plane. Again, the hide is rotated on the pole until all

Plate 24.

Scraping a caribou hide with a beamer
Spring 1980

the fine hair has been removed.[3]

In some cultures tanners allow the hide to begin to rot, thereby speeding up the procedure for scraping the hair from the hide. Only the slim layer between the epidermis and the corium can be allowed to dissolve to prevent damage to the grain side of the skin (Guldbeck 1969: n.p.; Hatt 1969: 14). I have not seen this method employed in Brochet for caribou hides.

Once the hide is de-haired and fleshed, it may be washed and dried in the sun, then set aside for the completion of the tanning process at a future date. People may postpone completing the hides for a number of reasons. If the hides are in danger of rotting, they may be simply fleshed, de-haired, and dried. The hides may also be needed for babiche. Furthermore, there may be insufficient brains available to complete the tanning process at

Plate 25.

Caribou hides drying in the sun
Brochet, Manitoba
Spring 1980

that time. This was the case in the spring of 1980 when my husband and I helped Mrs. Umpherville. We fleshed and scraped 18 hides, the majority of which were dried for later tanning.

If the tanner wishes to proceed to a finished hide, it is washed in preparation for the actual tanning process that involves the introduction of a preserving material. Tanning with fatty substances is the most widely distributed tanning method and is the one employed in Brochet. Tanning with fats involves the use of fatty substances that are oxidized by an exposure to air over a period of days into sebacic acid that combines with the fibres of the corium to cross-link the molecules and create stable leather that resists putrefaction. The fats also soften the skin and protect it against moisture (Hatt 1969: 14; Guldbeck 1969: n.p.; N. Kerr, personal communication, August 30, 2002). "Leather of this type can stand washing or wetting; and, while they (buckskin or chamois) may dry out to be somewhat stiff, they can be safely manipulated when dry and restored to flexibility" (Guldbeck 1969: n.p.).

In Brochet caribou hides, like moose hides, are brain tanned. The brain not only has a considerable fat content, it also has a smoother consistency than stiff, tallow-like fats. Therefore it mixes more easily with water and penetrates into the skin more quickly (Hatt: 1969: 15). Phosphetides within the brain matter may also cross link with the protein molecules in the corium and assist in stabilization (N. Kerr, personal communication, August 30, 2002). One caribou brain is sufficient to tan one caribou hide. The brain is cooked into a paste with a pound of lard, thereby adding even more fat to the tanning mixture. In Brochet, hide workers prefer Burns® lard. The mixture is rubbed onto both sides of the hide. The paste is allowed to sit for seven to ten days. During this time the hides are often tied to the end of a pole and hung outside from the roof of the house. (Plate 26) Mrs. Umpherville would lay a hide flat on the roof of her old house by the lake and weigh it down along the edges with fist-sized rocks. The hide is bleached in the sun to acquire the whiteness so prized by some tanners. Spring is the prime time to sun bleach a caribou hide. The combination of long daylight hours, frost and snow reflecting sunlight maximizes the effect of this natural bleaching process.

Plate 26.

Caribou Hides bleaching in the sun
Lac Brochet, Manitoba
March 1993

The addition of lard to the brain mixture may be a relatively recent phenomena. Capt. Angus Buchanan (1920: 139) recorded that tanners used only caribou brains and water. Although he noted that ordinary soap could be used in place of brains, James G. E.

Smith (1981b: 279), who conducted fieldwork in the Brochet area in 1967-68 and 1969-70, cites only the use of brains.[4] Helge Ingstad (1992: 257) who spent four years (1926-1930) among the Chipewyan from Snowdrift (now Lutselk'e), Northwest Territories, to the upper reaches of the Thelon River, also only mentions the use of brains. Birket-Smith (1930: 62) noted that the solution used by the Caribou Eskimo was simply brains and water. Sometimes the boiled livers of eider ducks or geese were used instead, and duck fat is cited for use in tanning hides among the Chipewyan of Cold Lake, Alberta (Hildebrandt & Thorpe 1993: 26). Elsewhere, Frank Speck (1937: 351) notes that the Montagnais-Naskapi make a paste of caribou brains, marrow and fat. Liver is added to the mixture of brains and fat by the Ungava band (Turner 1894: 293). Fleecy®, a fabric softner, is sometimes still used in Brochet when brains are not available, although this is not a preferred option. The object is clearly to add more fat to the tanning mixture. In the case of liquid fabric softeners such as Fleecy® or Downey®, cationic surfactants like cetyl alcohol give the leather a soft feel (N. Kerr, personal communication, August 30, 2002).

The hide is taken down and thoroughly and repeatedly washed to remove the brain and lard mixture.[5] It is wrung out by twisting it on a stick between two individuals. The hide is looped over a stick. One person holds the open end of the loop while the other twists the stick in a corkscrew motion to squeeze out excess water.[6] The hide is then dried. After it has dried it is pulled back and forth across a metal cable or nylon rope. This stage helps both to dry the hide by forcing water from it and to soften it by breaking the stiff fibres. The hide is intermittently removed from the rope and stretched between two individuals. This repeated stretching action also helps soften the hide and break the fibres. It is repeated throughout the drying process until the hide is completely dry. This mechanical aspect of hide tanning is wide spread throughout North America. Indeed, the mechanical breaking of the stiff fibres of the hide is so fundamental to the tanning process that in some instances, such as among the Point Barrow Eskimos, no treatment other than fleshing is used for the treatment of the hides of walrus, big seals, and fur seals which are used for boot soles and boat covers. This mechanical preparation of the hide, which is not true tanning, is also the only treatment used for hides by the Central Eskimo (Hatt 1969: 20).

Once dry, the hide may be hung on a line on a windy day. The wind blows away the "fluff" or small pieces of tanned hide loosened by the process of pulling the hide over a wire. Any loose hide left after this process is cleaned away with a knife.

The decision to smoke tan a hide rather than use it as a white hide is partially influenced by the success of the tanning process. If the beamer has not completely and evenly removed the fine hairs or the hide is not completely clean, there may be a light tan cast to all or portions of it. In such cases, smoke tanning will help to cover these imperfections. If the imperfections are not too severe or if there are sections that are still hard, a knife-edge may be scraped over the surface. This treatment further cleanses the hide and softens it. It was this added attention that made the hides prepared by Mrs. Umpherville superior. The rubbing of chalk on the finished product can hide less serious colour imperfections.[7]

The type of garment to be made may also determine whether a hide is tanned for aesthetic or more practical purposes. A tanned hide is more water resistant and hence better suited for a jacket or other garment intended for outside use. Gudmund Hatt (1969: 20) has noted that a smoked skin is impregnated with antiseptic substances and so withstands rotting. Dr. Nancy Kerr has identified the antiseptic substances as phenols in the smoke that cross-link with protein molecules in the fibres, making them less vulnerable to damaging bacteria (N. Kerr, personal communication, August 30, 2002). Hatt further noted that smoked hide can also be moistened and dried without getting stiff.[8]

Caribou, like moose, is smoked with a combination of dry tamarack (*Larix larcinia*) (in Cree wakinakan) and red moss (*Sphagnum capillofolium*) (in Cree askāya) or "red" willow (Salix) (in Cree nēpēsēs) and red moss.[9] The hide is draped over a tripod placed over a smudge. Small, dry pieces of wood are lit and then covered with red moss to produce smoke. Mrs. Umpherville stitched up the hide like a cone with canvas sewn around the bottom edge.

> I sewed like a bag from the neck down. Canvas at the bottom. Not big fire. Find red willow, dry and some green. Put on the ground or in an aluminium pail. Put little bit wet red moss, not dry. Then the smoke. Be careful the hide not touch the flame. You have to put two strings on the top of the hide. Hang it from the branches. You can't sew all the holes. You have to leave the holes in the caribou hide. Smoke needs to go someplace. In about fifteen minutes it turn brown. In the fall better, colder weather in the fall.

When Mrs. Umpherville smokes a hide, she prefers to go into the bush. This brings her closer to the red willow and red moss and keeps the smoke out of her home.

Many arctic and subarctic peoples dye skins by immersing them in a solution of water and alder bark (Hatt: 1969: 16). Red Alder (*Alnus rubra)*, mountain alder (*Alnus tenuifolia*), and occasionally green alder (*Alnus crispa*) are used. Depending on the species, dying can produce a range of colours, from "almost black to dark brown to russet to bright orange-red" (Turner 1998: 150). In Brochet willow, not alder, was used for dying hides. Mrs. Umpherville has stated that there is not much red willow in the Brochet area.[10] Mrs. Rosalie Sewap, a Cree originally from Cumberland House, Saskatchewan, showed Mrs.

Umpherville how to dye hides. Although the dying of hides was not practised while I was in Brochet, Mrs. Umpherville showed me the red willow (*Salix*) that was used locally for dying. Mrs. Umpherville identified suitable branches by test scraping the outer bark from branches on a living tree. Suitable branches have an inner bark with a distinctive reddish colour. This reddish inner bark appears to be related to the maturity level of the tree branch. About six, four to five foot long branches are required to make a batch of dye. Once the selected branches are cut, the inner bark is removed and

> boiled … in water for maybe half an hour. Then she [Mrs. Sewap] strained it into a metal pail so that there was nothing there. Just a pure coloured water. The water had to be luke warm – cool enough not to burn the hide.

While the hide is soaking it has to be lifted and rubbed to work in the dye. The hide is periodically checked to make sure that the dye is taking evenly. After soaking overnight, the hide is wrung dry using a clean birch stick. Then it is stretched and rubbed over a cable while still damp to make it soft. Mrs. Umpherville made a pair of mittens for Mrs. Premachuk from the hide that Mrs. Sewap had shown her how to dye. Moose hide is not dyed in this manner in Brochet.[11]

In the summer of 1995 Mrs. Premachuk, a long time trader in the community, showed Mrs. Umpherville, my husband and me a piece of dyed caribou hide that she had bought while living in Brochet. The dying resulted in a very pleasant reddish brown colour. The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature in Winnipeg holds a jacket, a pair of children's moccasins, and a pair of gauntlets that were made from willow-dyed caribou hide from Brochet. Mrs. Sewap dyed the hide and Mrs. Marie Merasty and Mrs. Umpherville beaded the items (Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Ethnography File).

Babiche production, which does not require the full tanning process, was very limited during my tenure in Brochet and was restricted principally to snowshoes. Babiche is long leather strips made from rawhide. Capt. Angus Buchanan (l920: 139) describes the babiche-making process as one in which the hair and flesh/fat are scraped from the hide, which is then allowed to dry. The skin is then soaked until it is soft and cut into long strips by circular cutting.

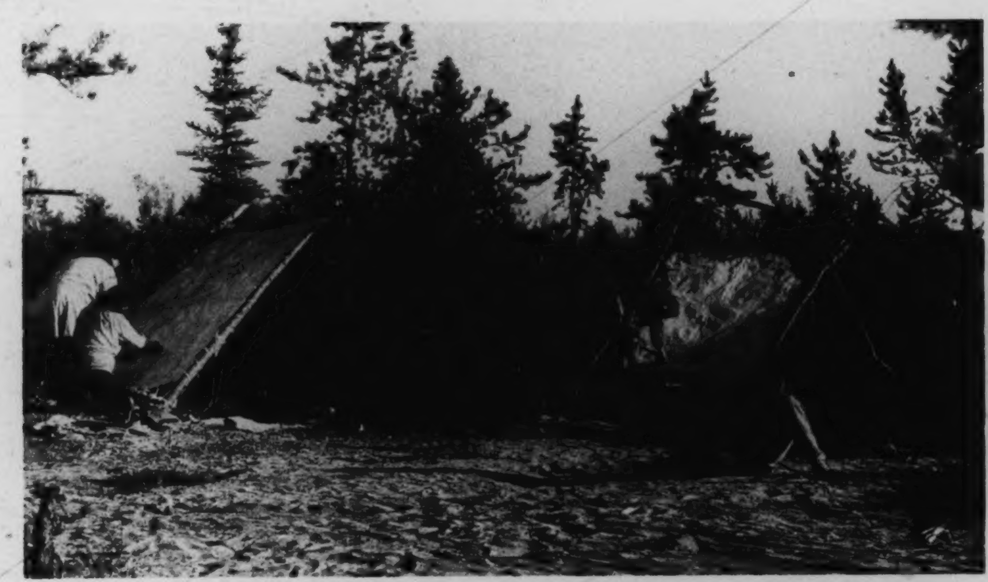
In the case of caribou, the continued utilization of the species is problematic given both shifting ecological and economic patterns. Indeed, Gerald Parker (1972: 85) suggested that from 1962 to 1968 the only real threat to the Kaminuriak caribou herd was to be found with the hunters of Brochet and Wollaston. To that we could add today the communities of Lac Brochet and Tadoule Lake. These are also the primary areas where white caribou hide clothing can still be found. It is possible that caribou hide may be replaced with commercially tanned white deerskin or white fabric.

Moose Hide Tanning

Moose hide tanning is very similar to caribou hide tanning. The principle differences are directly related to the size of a moose hide. A green moose hide can easily weigh fifty pounds and requires several individuals to tan it.

Initially a rectangular frame is constructed, usually by a man, by lashing four freshly cut poles together. The poles are most frequently cut for this precise purpose, but this is not always the case. Although the frame is basically constructed to meet the immediate needs of tanning a particular hide, it can easily be eight to ten feet wide. Holes are slit with a knife all the way around the edge of the hide. The hide is then laced onto the frame. A yellow nylon rope may be used for this purpose. The lacing needs to be loosened and tightened until an equal tension has been achieved for the entire hide. This procedure is difficult since the hide itself does not have an even perimeter. The frame with the hide is then leaned against a support such as two trees so that it rests at an angle convenient to the tanner. Particularly large hides may require a fifth log lashed horizontally to the frame to allow the tanner to stand or kneel on it to reach all areas of the hide.

Plate 27.

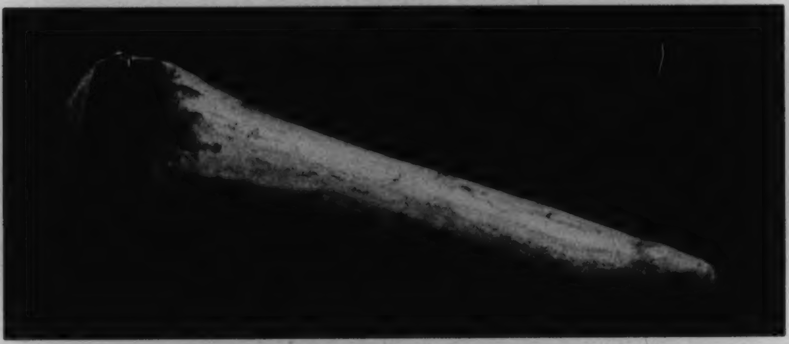


Scraping moose hides at Brochet, Manitoba
(Left to right) Ila Linklater, Helen Cook, Roaslie Merasty, Bernie Cook)
Spring 1980

Once the frame and hide are secure, the process of fleshing can begin. The hide is fleshed to remove excess fat, meat and membrane using the same fleshing tool as is used for a caribou hide. During the process, the portion of the hide that is not being directly worked upon may be kept covered with an old blanket or a piece of canvas to keep it moist, facilitating the fleshing process.

Once fleshing is complete, the frame is turned over so that the hair may be scraped from the hide. A scraping tool is fashioned from a piece of steel, frequently a discarded saw blade, set in a wooden handle. The working edge of the blade is slightly convex in shape. The handle of the scraper is grasped in the right hand while the left hand guides the head of the tool and supplies pressure to the working edge. The scraper is pulled down the length of the hide at an angle less than forty-five degrees, removing hair and the epidermis. Some tanners in Brochet recommend submerging a moose hide in water to speed the decomposition process and ease hair can be removal.[12]

Plate 28.



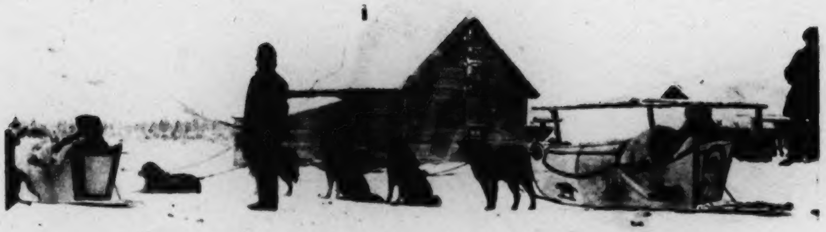
Scraper made by Mr. Sewap, 1980
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

Frank Russell provided a description of the process as practiced by the Woods Cree.

> The skin may now be dried as parchment and used in making carioles, etc.; if it is to be made into leather, it is sprinkled with a little oil. Fish oil is preferred as it is most readily absorbed. It is then smoked slightly on the outside and soaked overnight in water containing the brains of an animal from which the skin was taken, or from any other freshly killed. It is soaked the next day in water, then pulled over the fire until dry and soft. Finally the leather is smoked over a fire of rotten wood, until it takes on a light yellowish brown

> color; if ordinary dry wood is used it becomes black instead of brown [Russell 1898: 185].

Plate 29.



Dog cariole – Brochet Post, Reindeer Lake, February 1, 1894
Hudson's Bay Company Archives 1987/13/237 (N7928)

Carioles are toboggans with parchment or canvas sides as seen in Plates 29 and 30. Pulled first by dogs and later by snow machines, they are a major form of winter transport in Brochet. Mrs. Umpherville's family replaced the parchment sided cariole with one made with canvas sides mounted on a commercially purchased wooden toboggan similar to the one in Plate 30. In addition to the more traditional carriole, Mrs. Umpherville's son now also uses a commercially made fibreglass sledge.

Plate 30.

Cariole with canvas sides, 1993
Brochet, Manitoba

Mrs. Umpherville did not as a rule tan her own moose hide. She only tanned a large moose hide once and scorched it while smoking it. Another time she tanned a young moose hide and it worked very well. It took on a nice colour after only about ten minutes of smoking. She preferred to purchase her moose hide from others, even though it reduced her profit margin. She regarded the work as too hard and, perhaps, too dirty. This may also have permitted her a mechanism to assert her status in the community and distinguish herself from her "Indian" neighbours. She assumed the patron role to their client role in effect reversing the role she played with her customers.

The continued production of home tanned moose hides faces the difficulties of a general lack of knowledge similar to that associated with tanning caribou hides. On my last trip to Brochet in 2000, I could not find anyone who was tanning moose hides. The work is hard and dirty. It does not tend to attract younger people despite the fact that a home tanned moose hide can fetch in excess of $800 in cities such as Edmonton, Alberta. This amount, however, is not the price realized in isolated Northern communities. Indeed, the cost in time and labour associated with tanning a hide supplies almost no returns in terms of the increased costs in garments made from home tanned leather. Financially, it is simply not worth the effort.

Pelt Tanning

The residents of Brochet have and continue to use fur for the trim of parka hoods, mukluks, gauntlets, and moccasins. The long hair of fox fur is particularly prized for the trim of commercially made parka hoods. Sometimes the tail is left attached to the fur hood trim. Red fox, cross fox, and arctic fox are all used. Mukluks, gauntlets, and moccasins generally are trimmed with the shorter haired muskrat, beaver, mink, rabbit, and occasionally otter. Martin and weasel are also used. Previously, arctic hare blankets were made. Mrs. Umpherville can remember that her grandmother made such a blanket by cutting and braiding coils of hare skin cordage. The hare skin strips were braided with store string for strength and then netted into a blanket.[13] Although smaller than a caribou blanket, it also was lined with flannel. It was about 6 feet square and could sleep two to three children. The relative prestige and value of the hare skin blanket is attested to by the fact that the family only had one such blanket as opposed to several caribou robe blankets.

While the women of Brochet tan their own furs, they also purchase furs from each other and from outside sources such as the Winnipeg Raw Fur Exchange. Mrs. Umpherville tans small fur bearing animals such as muskrat, mink, martin, and weasels. The tanning process for these small fur-bearers is similar. The trapper first skins the animal inside out in one piece and dries the pelt. Mrs. Umpherville acquires the pelt through purchase or gift.

She lays the pelt out flat and rubs it with Jergens Hand Lotion®. The main active ingredient in the lotion is glycerine, a natural humectant that attracts moisture to the top layer of skin. Another important ingredient found in lesser amounts in the lotion is isostearate. As the lotion penetrates the skin, it improves suppleness by lubricating the skin fibres (S. Elder, Consumers Relation Department, Jergens, personal communication, September 20, 2002; N. Kerr, personal communication, October 30, 2002). The pelt is then folded against itself with the fur to the outside and rolled up for twenty to thirty minutes. Warm water and Tide® are used to wash the skin and fur three to four times, removing the smell and the dirt. The pelt is rubbed in small circles during the washing to help soften the hide. It is hung by a heater to dry. During the drying process it is repeatedly rubbed in small circles to prevent the hide from stiffening. Beaver pelts require scraping before they are dried. Mrs. Umpherville considers beaver pelts hard to prepare and does not tan them herself, nor does she tan otter. Although she did not list fox as one of the animals that she has tanned, she does not consider it hard to tan.

Mrs. Umpherville obtained pelts from a number of sources. Her husband Albert trapped at various times during their marriage, and she has purchased rabbit pelts from the Winnipeg Raw Fur Store. Customers sometimes provide her with pelts, either raw or tanned. I saw George Clark, her neighbour, give her a raw muskrat pelt that had been slightly damaged during skinning, making it useless for sale to the Hudson's Bay store. During her later years it became increasingly difficult to obtain pelts. In the winter of 1993 she complained that she could find no one who would tan pelts for her. Even "if someone does, they'll want $30 or so just for tanning". Such prices severely cut into what she could realize for the finished product. At the same time her own skills in tanning furs have deteriorated with age. Mrs. Umpherville showed me a beaver pelt and a muskrat pelt that were the results of failed attempts at tanning.

The tanning of smaller, fur-bearing pelts faces many of the same problems as does the production of leather hides. The skill required is not being passed onto younger generations, partially because there is such limited demand for the finished product.

---

[1] The practices of other groups differ. For example, the Montagnais-Naskapi sometimes do employ a frame, while at other times they simply lay the skin on the ground to be fleshed (Speck 1937: 350).

[2] Caribou herds are harassed in July and August by the warble fly, *Oedemagena taramdi* (Harper 1955: 46). The flies lay their eggs on the legs, belly and tail region of the caribou. These eggs hatch into larvae, which burrow under the caribou's hide. The larvae travel widely through the body and by autumn are lodged beneath the skin of the back on both sides of the vertebral column. Each larva makes a small breathing hole through the skin. It is through this hole that the larvae will exit the host the following June (Jacobi 1931: 245-246; Harper 1955: 71; Burnham 1992: 22). The larva then lie on the ground for about a month before the fly appears (Johansen 1921: 24). The cycle then begins anew.

By mid September the new larvae have not yet developed sufficiently to injure the hides while the holes made by the exiting larvae from the preceding June have closed sufficiently for the skins to be suitable for making garments (Burnham 1992: 22). After September the hair grows so long and thick that the hide is no longer considered in prime condition (Banfield 1951: 46).

Tanned-caribou hides taken in the winter months, as is necessitated by the relatively sedentary life in Brochet, bear a characteristic scarring pattern from the breathing holes of the larvae. These holes open up in the tanning process and can limit the hides suitability for garment production. Perhaps fortunately for the women in Brochet, larger garments such as jackets and vests are seldom made of caribou hide. Smaller pieces such as the components of moccasins and mukluks can be cut around the holes in the hide.

[3] Birket-Smith (1930: 61-62) describes a similar process among the Caribou Eskimo.

[4] James G. E. Smith (1981a: 279) provides an excellent photo essay on the tanning process as it was practiced at Caribou Post, Manitoba in February 1947.

[5] The repeated washing of the hide in clean water is also a common practice of great importance among other Native American groups. In some cases the hide is allowed to

soak in water for some time, which may either loosen the epidermis and/or dissolve the corium (Hatt 1969: 18).

[6] A similar process is used for moose hides. In this instance a stationary rail, parallel to the ground, is set up. The moose hide is wrapped around this rail and a second pole, which is twisted to wring the water out of the hide. It may take two individuals to twist the second pole (Saskatchewan Indian Arts and Crafts Committee n.d.: 10-11). The lighter caribou hide does not require the use of a stationary rail.

[7] Several other Native American groups use chalk or white clay as the final part of skin treatment. However, in these instances the chalk, which is a porous substance, is used to clean the hide after fat tanning and to accelerate the drying process (Hatt 1969: 18). Cleaning the hide appears not to be the intention with Mrs. Umpherville's use of chalk, which she obtained from teachers in the local school. The hide has already been repeatedly washed to remove excess fat and if needed may be scraped in required areas. The chalk seems to be used solely for aesthetic purposes and is usually applied to nearly finished or finished pieces.

[8] Hatt's assertion aside, my experience is that a wet home tanned garment will still get stiff unless it is flexed and rubbed during the drying process as Guldbeck (1969: n.p.) suggests.

[9] The *Sphagnum capillifolium,* commonly known as small red peat moss (Turner 1998: 223), identification is provided courtesy of Dr. Nat Cleavitt, University of Alberta, from samples gathered at Brochet under Mrs. Umpherville's direction in August, 1998. *Sphagnaceae* is generally cited as a moss used for smoking leather (Marles *et al.* 2000: 70-71). The species, however, is rarely identified, perhaps because a number of species may produce similar results.

[10] Robin Marles does not cite willow as a possible source of dye material, although he notes that willow bark is well known for its tannins (Marles *et al.* 2000: 255). Tannin tans leather by precipitating proteins so that bacteria cannot break them down (Marles *et al.* 2000: 314).

[11] Elsewhere in the subarctic, moose hides were dyed. G. Adam and L. Fortier (1959: 23-24) have advised in the "Camsell Arrow" that moose hide may be dyed either with commercial dyes such as Sunset or Diamond, or with the roots of red willow bushes. "Soak the roots in warm water for a week. Drain off the liquid. Strain this liquid and heat to boiling point. This is to "set" the dye. This root color is not as bright as the commercial dyes, but works well."

[12] M. D. Helser (1929: 221) offered similar advice for home tanning beef hides. He suggested that if the hide is not fresh it can be soaked in a solution of 5 gallons of water and four quarts of unslaked lime for three to four days until the hair slips.

[13] Barbara Hail and Kate Duncan (1989: 279-281) have provided a detailed description of the production of hare skin parkas in *Out of the North, The Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology*. The netting technique that they describe appears similar to that employed by Mrs. Umpherville's grandmother in the production of hare skin blankets.

CHAPTER SIX

SEWING WOMAN

Philomene Umpherville defines herself primarily as a sewer. Making well-crafted garments was a necessity for her in the early years of her marriage as well as a source of pride. She made fashionable and serviceable jackets for her whole family, pants and shirts for her eldest son, and jumpers for her eldest daughter. She also sewed skirts and dresses for herself and her eldest daughter. A photograph taken in 1955 (Plate 31) illustrates her skill as a seamstress. Forty-five years later she reflected on the photograph.

> I make my own dress and jacket. And the jacket Philip had and pants, and dress and jacket. Always I was sewing.… I bought the materials…from the store here. They used to have Hudson (sic) Bay store. Used to have material and we bought and … I made my own. [Other] people did this too.

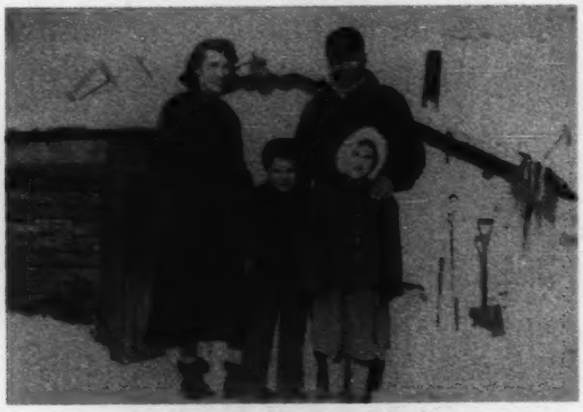
She went on to remember fondly the clothing that she made. Her skirt in the photograph was navy blue, and the jacket was maroon satin. She special ordered the material from the *Army and Navy Catalogue*. She ironed the fabric on the table and cut it "nicely". She made the pattern from another jacket by taking it apart. Making clothes was a necessity:

> We were poor, you know, years ago. No job. And Albert trapping [a] little. … Then I used to sew everything.

Whereas the upper body clothing was a reflection of southern fashion, the footwear was moccasins. "We always [had] new boots [moccasins]. Yes they did. We did. I sew that."

The 1955 photograph of the Umpherville family could be a typical family from any rural community in Canada. A friend from Ottawa was amazed when he viewed the photograph. He said that it could have been his own family if we substituted a different home. A small cabin at the edge of Reindeer Lake was the Umpherville home in

Plate 31.



Umpherville family, Brochet, Manitoba 1955
(Left to right) Mrs. Umpherville, Philip, Audrey, Mr. Umpherville
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene Umpherville

Brochet until 1969. The photograph helps to illustrate one of the many contradictions that surrounded Mrs. Umpherville. She was able to dress her family well in clothing that reflected the fashion of mainstream Canada but providing a modern home was not possible until 1969 when government-subsidized housing was made available to the non-reserve side of the community.

Philomene Umpherville's life as a seamstress connects her to a long tradition in the North. Judy Thompson (1994: XIV) has observed, "Clothing artifacts are particularly important 'cultural documents', for they come to us virtually unchanged from the hands of their makers and their owners." The assertion that clothing artifacts "come to us virtually unchanged" is somewhat overstated as Thompson herself admits later (Thompson 1994: 108). In many instances, decorative portions of clothing may be cut from the original garment and reapplied to another. Moreover, "early examples of Déné clothing may well reflect the talents and labor of several, rather than a single Déné woman" (Thompson 1994: 18). Nevertheless, the importance of clothing as documentary artifacts is not diminished and may be particularly revealing of the lives of the women who created them.

Mrs. Umpherville grew up in a community where caribou parkas and undecorated wrap-around moccasins with pointed toes were common. Men and children "dressed up" or put on beaded garments for special occasions, while the women wore new dresses that they sewed for themselves. As a child, she wore moccasins that her mother or auntie made for her. When she was older and returned to Brochet, she never wore moccasins herself, but she made them for her husband and children. She followed the established tradition of her grandmother Marisis, her mother Catherine and her Auntie Elise. The women were good sewers. They adapted to changing traditions and Mrs. Umpherville was no different. She made little of what anthropologists used to term "traditional", but she was strongly influenced by the traditions of women making clothing for their families. Furthermore, she recognizes the importance of the various kinds of clothing that her mother, aunt and other women in the region made. This has had a strong impact on her self-identification as a sewer rather than a beader.

The development of the clothing styles sewn by Philomene Umpherville is the product of Euro-Canadian, Métis, Chipewyan, Cree and Inuit cultural influences spanning nearly two centuries. The forms are simple in their construction, complex in their origins, and follow in the footsteps of the women in her family.

Clothing of the Past

Former clothing of the Aboriginal inhabitants of northern Manitoba relied heavily on caribou hide and later, and to a lesser extent, moose hide. Fur from fur bearing animals was likely used prior to contact and the advent of the fur trade, but to a limited degree. Above all else, caribou hides and robes were the primary source of material for Chipewyan clothing.

The literature abounds with references on the superiority of caribou hides in the manufacturing of high quality clothing for arctic and subarctic peoples (e.g. Manning and Manning 1944; Hatt 1969). The superiority of the caribou hide lies in its outer layer of hollow guard hairs, with their strength, compression resistance and lightness. The hollow hairs trap air inside, thereby acting as tiny thermoregulation devices allowing the body of the wearer to maintain a thermal balance. This insulative quality is further enhanced by boundary air trapped between the inner and outer layers of the caribou coat. The orientation of the guard hairs to the skin also reduces heat loss through conduction by effectively increasing the thickness of the layer of hair (Stenton 1991: 6).

A number of factors, however, limits the practical use of caribou hides for clothing. Adult male caribou begin to shed their winter coats in April/May. Breeding females and younger animals may retain much of their winter coat until July/August (Stenton 1991:6). This coincides with the July and August infestation of warble flies *Oedemagena tarandi* (Harper 1955: 46). The prime time for harvesting caribou hides for clothing then, is from approximately early August until early October, depending upon the year, the herd, and the precise location of the hunt.

The speed with which the Chipewyan discarded their traditional clothing in favor of European fashion, in at least some areas, is nevertheless remarkable. This tendency is well attested to by the collecting efforts of George Wilson, the first Director of the Industrial Museum of Scotland (later the Royal Scottish Museum). Wilson set about to gather "useful and interesting objects to illustrate the industrial arts of all nations" (Idiens

1974: 13). In order to do this he enlisted the aid of enthusiastic supporters within the Hudson's Bay Company through his brother, Daniel in Toronto (Idiens 1974: 13). Between 1858 and 1862, 240 Athapaskan artifacts from the Subarctic were collected. Although several Hudson's Bay Company employees participated at their own expense, Bernard Ross made the greatest contributions (Idiens 1974: 13-14). The Athapaskan collection included men's, women's, and children's articles of clothing such as coats, moccasins and even complete outfits (Idiens 1979: 5-18).

Dale Idiens (1974: 13) notes that some of the Hudson's Bay collectors like Robert Campbell at Fort Chipewyan "were well aware that the traditional Indian artifacts would not be easy to obtain since 'hardly a trace now remains of their former dress, domestic utensils or weapons of war or of the chase' ". Euro-Canadians were first present in the area in 1778 with the establishment of Pond's Fort. But it was not until the founding of Fort Chipewyan I, ten years later in 1788, that a concentrated Euro-Canadian presence appeared on Lake Athabasca. So in no more than 74 years, and probably considerably less, the Chipewyan trading at Fort Chipewyan had evidently given up virtually all of their traditional dress. Based on the more extensive photographic evidence of the data available at Brochet, I would hazard a guess that much of what remained was restricted to footwear.

By examining the catalogue of artifacts from this early Fort Chipewyan collection, few of the artifacts seem to represent what people were wearing in place of "traditional garb". Yet, even the older artifacts use silk embroidery floss and wool yarn, not to mention beads. In the catalogue *Athapaskans: Strangers of the North*, a man's summer coat from the Royal Scottish Museum collection is illustrated (Boudreau 1974:

128-129). European materials such as beads, brass buttons and rings, ribbon, flannel, and wool tassels and stylistic features including cuffs, a high collar, and epilates are evident. The question arises if this is the type of clothing worn by the Athapaskans with whom Ross was in contact in 1860. While the clothing of the day was greatly influenced by European style and fabric, this was not the picture presented by the "more traditional" garments that Ross, Campbell and others collected. Collectors were beginning to create the illusion that the "Indian" was a dying race, not changing, adapting, and surviving, but still recognizably "Indian".

As an aside, Ross also displayed characteristics of other collectors from a later period. He genuinely appears to have admired the people with whom he was working and took a great interest in their lives and environment. For example, he possibly made three moccasin vamps of tanned caribou hide embroidered with floral motifs, which were included in the collection (Idiens 1979: 7). This action demonstrates a great interest in woman's work, perhaps more than we expect from the everyday man of the period. In addition, while his natural history reports created typologies, they were richly sprinkled with local ethnographic information (Ross 1861: 5-36).

James Vanstone (1965: 45) lamented in 1960-1961, "it is nearly impossible to reconstruct any aspect of aboriginal clothing on the basis of vestiges that may remain among the modern Snowdrift Indian" (Northwest Territories). The chief exception at Snowdrift was gloves and footwear (Vanstone 1965: 46).

Not surprisingly, this perception that traditional clothing had completely disappeared has influenced collecting practices at major museums. There is, for instance, a significant gap in the Canadian Museum of Civilization's collection of Déné clothing from 1930-1990 (Thompson 1994: XV).

It is not clear exactly when the older forms of clothing were discarded in Brochet but it would appear to correlate with the ethnic background of the individual or family in question, the amount of time spent at the trading post/mission, and income levels. The early Métis residents of the community almost certainly arrived with a propensity for European dress. Philomene Umpherville's family can trace its roots to the Red River Colony. There, as early as 1815, cloth was the material of choice for clothing rather than skins (McKinnon 1992: 33). Harrison (1985: 30) has stated that early styles of Métis dress were adapted to utilize cloth rather than skin. Brasser (1976: 45) has attributed this choice by Aboriginal groups to a decline in the large game population. By the time the Cooks first began to arrive in Brochet in the 1860s, their dress was likely thoroughly Europeanized.

A number of factors may have contributed to the Chipewyan adoption of European dress in Brochet. First, as Brasser has suggested for Métis residents of the Red River Colony, settlement in the community restricted access to caribou, the source of much traditional clothing. More specifically, once the Chipewyan population became involved in the fur trade, their Aboriginal seasonal rounds became severely disrupted, which may have interfered with harvesting caribou during the optimum time for skin clothing.

At the same time, as the Chipewyan became increasingly involved in the fur trade, they maximized their opportunities to acquire European dress by virtue of their proximity to the trading post, both for availability of materials and observation of

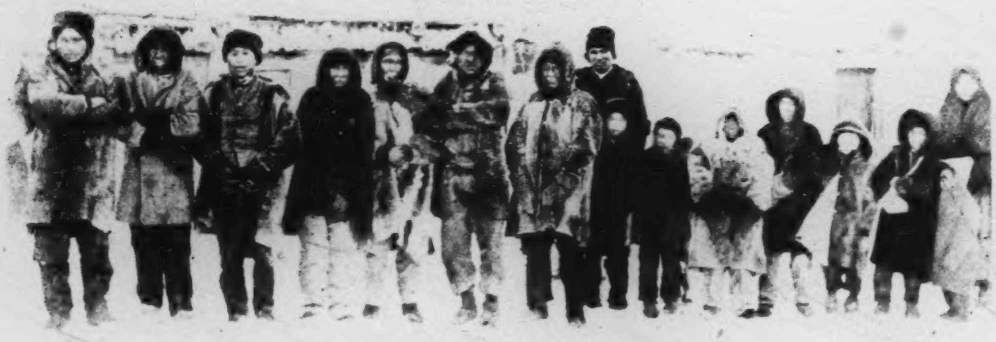
European fashions. It may also be that as some Aboriginal people became more sedentary, they began to distinguish themselves from their compatriots who elected to follow a more traditional bush life style. This resident population was more likely to be composed of individuals of more recent Métis origins rather than those with strong Chipewyan roots. If the patterns of dress of the residents of the Red River colony are any indication, the Métis population, and in particular the women, began to adopt a European dress style very quickly.

A photographic analysis of the dress of the Native inhabitants of Brochet documents changes in dress from the late nineteenth century to the latter half of the twentieth. However, one must remember that the population of Brochet consisted of Chipewyans, Crees, Métis, and for a time Inuit from the interior of the Keewatin District. The ethnic identities of the persons recorded are not necessarily certain. I would, for instance, expect the Inuit hunters who were still primarily living on the land to retain caribou for traditional dress longer than the resident Métis population of the post.

Caribou Parkas

The most obvious use of caribou clothing was winter parkas, as shown in Plate 32. This photograph was taken in front of the Brochet mission buildings in February, 1894.

Plate 32.

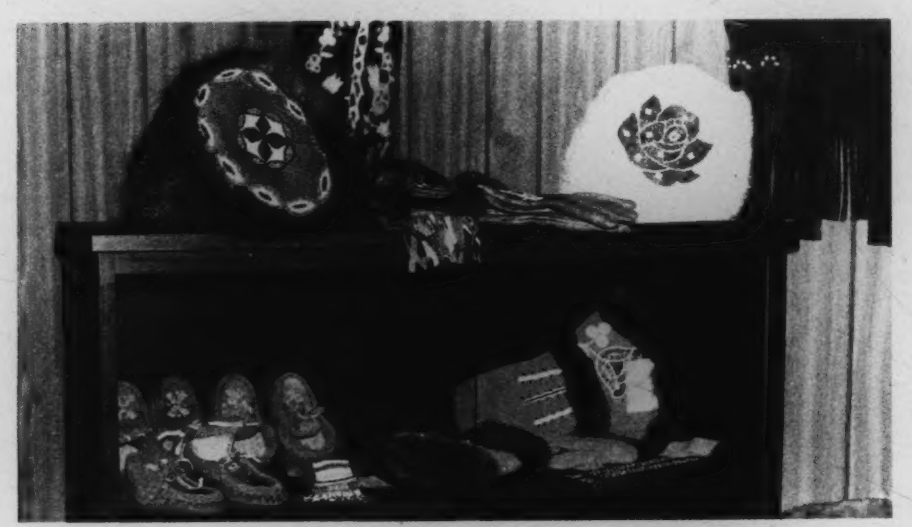


Group of Chipewyans in front of the mission
(Hudson's Bay Company Archives, James McDougall Collection,
HBCA 1937/13/242 N7929).

The people in the photograph, with the exception of the priest, are identified as Chipewyan. Unlike parkas made by the neighboring Ahiarmiut, Paallirmiut, and Harvaqtuurmiut (Caribou Eskimo) (Arima 1984: 447-448), caribou parkas made in Brochet had a front center opening with fastenings. This frontal opening may be an adaptation from an earlier closed form. James Smith (1981a: 280) illustrates a caribou "dress" with no frontal opening collected by Birket-Smith in 1923. Two parkas in the American Museum of Natural History (60/4320 and 60/2684) collected in 1899 in Quairnirmiut territory provide comparative examples (Arima 1984: 451).

The parkas worn in this photograph appear to have hoods, although this is not certain for the man on the far left of the photograph. Birket-Smith (1930: 50-51) noted that the sewn-on hood was not an old element among Chipewyan and was likely adopted from the Inuit. Before the advent of the hood, Birket–Smith (1930: 52) recorded that a type of fur cap was worn by various Athapaskan tribes and the Cree. The man on the far left of the photograph appears to be wearing a fur pillbox style hat. While Mrs. Umpherville did not make hats, the form of the pillbox hat was retained in the community. However, it was used by women and girls for either festival wear or for going outside the community. Gisele Morin made the two pill box hats shown in Plate 33 for her daughter Sonya for the 1979 Brochet Winter Carnival and entered them in the crafts contest.

Plate 33.



Brochet Winter Carnival Craft Contest entries, 1980
Photograph courtesy of Neil Codling

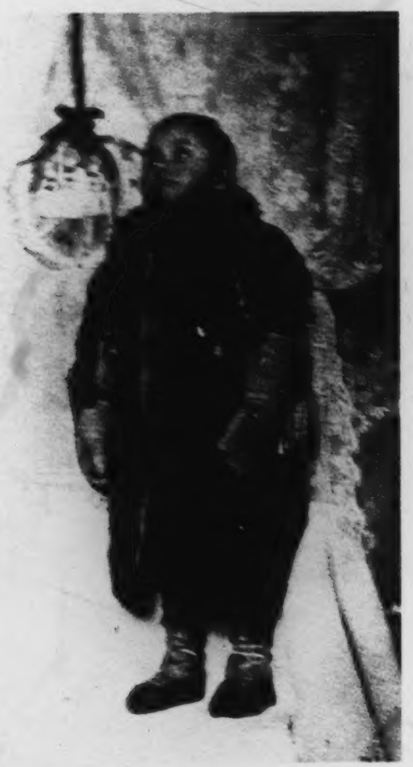
The parkas tend to fall just above the knee. However, the parka of the woman on the far right clearly falls to just above her ankles. Birket-Smith (1930: 53) has characterized this length as being originally typical for women's coats. The children who are fourth and sixth from the right also have longer parkas.

Caspar Whitney's experience among the Chipewyan led him to extol the virtues of the caribou parka over similar garments made in the industrialized world.

> The capote I had fetched from Hamilton, Canada was useless; having been made of unsmoked leather, the first snow-storm soaked and the fire shrunk it; then it was too heavy to run in, and the blanket lining was greatly inferior to fur for warmth. No garment can excel the caribou capotes made by the Indians for exposure in the excessive cold and piercing winds of this North country. They are very light, and do not therefore add to the burden of the voyageur, while being literally impervious to all winds, save those deadly blasts of the Barren Grounds [Whitney 1896: 215].

The Métis adopted the caribou parka from the Chipewyan, at least in some cases, even though they were not as involved in caribou hunting as were the Chipewyan. Plate

Plate 34.



Rene Lapensée, ca. 1920
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene Umpherville

34 shows Rene Lapensée, Philomene Umpherville's half brother, ca 1920. He is dressed in a caribou parka, gauntlets, and moccasins made by Elise Benoune (née Cook), Philomene Umpherville's aunt. Again, the parka displays the characteristic frontal opening and is longer in length as evidenced by some of the children in Plate 32.

The use of caribou parkas continued in Brochet past the Second World War. Mrs. Umpherville tells of how her husband Albert fell while driving a dog team and was dragged around the lake by the team until the hair had worn off the front of his caribou parka. However, by the time I arrived in Brochet in 1978, no one wore a caribou parka nor were there any in town. An acquaintance, however, told me that his grandmother, a member of the Hatchet Lake Band of Chipewyans who lived in Wollaston, Saskatchewan could make me a caribou parka if I wanted one.

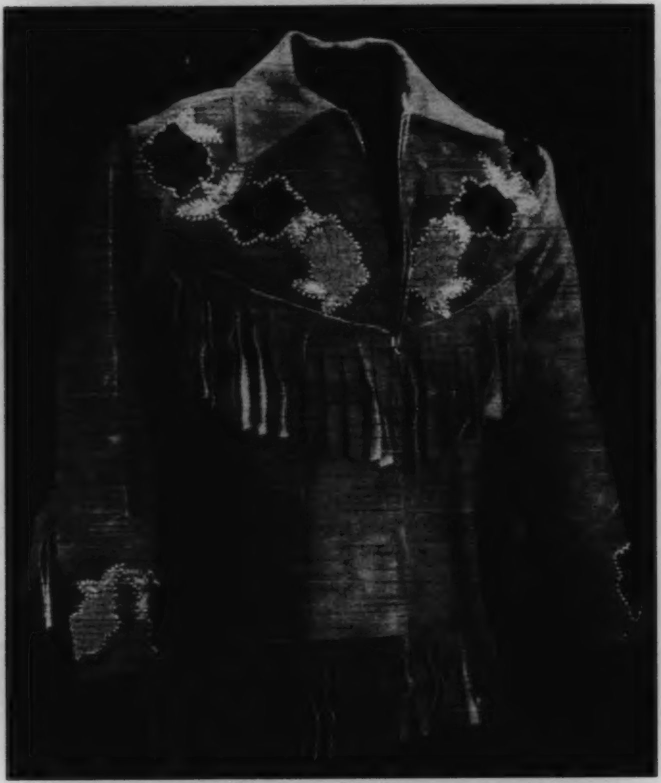
Jackets

Moose hide fringed jackets did not reach Brochet until the twentieth century, possibly coinciding with the initial exploitation of the area by the Rocky Cree ca. 1900 (Smith 1970: 63-64). Birket-Smith (1930: 52) recorded that Chipewyans in Churchill, Manitoba, in 1923 sometimes wore "embroidered jackets of smoke-cured skin, open at the front, of the same pattern as the Cree. They have a wide, fringed collar and fringing down the sleeves." The jackets were typically short and sewn from home tanned moose hide with fringe on the arms and on the front and back falling from the jacket's yoke. Yokes were beaded front and back. Cuffs and pockets were less often beaded.

While caribou hide jackets exist, I have seen only one from the Brochet area, in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (III-DD-141). (Plate 35) The scars left from the warble fly holes are clearly visible on the leather. The jacket was sewn by

Viola Merasty and beaded by Mary Anne Lapensée, Mrs. Umpherville's sister-in-law. Mrs. Umpherville was consulted on the color selection of the beads.[1]

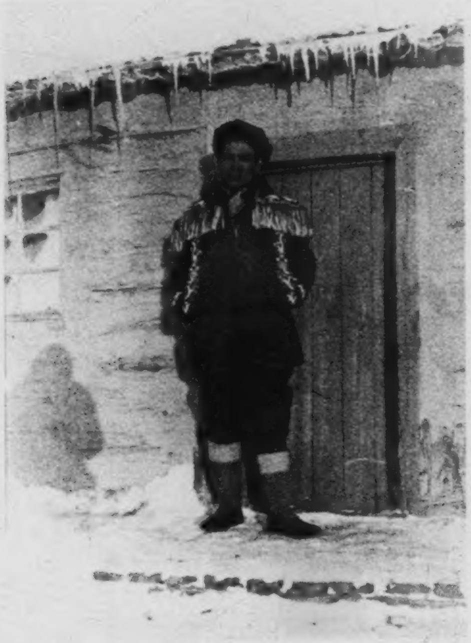
Plate 35.



Caribou hide jacket, 1981
Sewn by Viola Merasty; beaded by Mary Anne Lapensée
Canadian Museum of Civilization III-DD-141

The jacket was never intended to replace the caribou parka as a functional cold weather garment. Rather, the jacket should be thought of as a new and unrelated garment type. Although the Chipewyan and perhaps the Métis in Brochet adopted the jacket, it appears never to have been a particularly common clothing element. In the late 1970s, I knew of only one jacket in town, which was worn by a woman and made from commercially tanned leather. Also, I have examined a collection of beadwork made by an independent trader, Mrs. Neilla Premachuk, who lived in Brochet from 1960 to 1979. As of July 1994, her collection included eight jackets, all made from commercial hide. The jackets were sewn and beaded by both Chipewyan and Cree women. During my 1993 visit to Brochet only the chief and one other man appeared to own beaded jackets.

Plate 36.



Pascal Benoune, n.d.
Brochet, Manitoba
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene Umpherville

By the late 1970s jackets made entirely from caribou hide appear to have been uncommon in Brochet; however, Mrs. Umpherville remembers that in the 1920s and 1930s men and women wore jackets that were similar to the Cree or Cree/Métis Norway House style jacket illustrated in Hail and Duncan (1989: 127). Her mother and Auntie Elsie both made jackets from caribou and moose hide. There is also evidence to suggest that white caribou hide was sometimes used for the yoke alone. Mr. Pascal Benoune's canvas jacket sewn by Elise Benoune (née Cook) (Mrs. Umpherville's aunt) in Plate 36 is such a jacket. The yoke was beaded and then simply pinned onto an undecorated jacket. The yoke could be removed and stored after the occasion for future use. James G. E. Smith collected such a yoke (Canadian Museum of Civilization III-DD-76 (III-D-373) (68/28/89)) made by Mrs. Nancy Cook in Brochet on April 1, 1968.[2] The yoke was beaded on canvas through a clear plastic wrap that protected the whiteness of the canvas.

I have also seen examples of these decorated yokes in Kerr's Furs in The Pas, Manitoba. In this instance, the beading was done on white canvas, perhaps to simulate white caribou hide. A clerk told me that the store used these yokes as samples for customers ordering complete jackets.

Beaded jackets, however, were regarded as items of prestige and were worn only on special occasions such as the winter carnivals, weddings or simply to "go out", meaning to go outside or leave town. In 1993 one of the male jacket owners in Brochet wore his jacket to the dance at the winter carnival at Co-op Point.

Mrs. Umpherville has never made a hide jacket, although her sewing skills certainly demonstrate that she is capable of this. She made fabric non-beaded jackets for her family and herself. It may be that there was simply no perceived market for jackets, which would always have been relatively expensive. It may also have been difficult to obtain the necessary moose hide. While moose are present in the Brochet area, they are solitary animals rather than communal ones and not as important a game animal as caribou. A fringed jacket requires two relatively large moose hides that have been evenly tanned and are without bullet holes or burns from the smoking process. A green moose hide is also quite heavy and requires the construction of a frame before it can be fleshed and scraped. A single individual cannot easily tan a moose hide. A caribou hide, in contrast, is relatively light, requires no frame and can be tanned by an individual. However, the caribou that are hunted in the winter months from Brochet are unsuitable for large garments such as jackets because of warble fly holes. These factors may account for the high percentage of commercial leather jackets in the-afore mentioned mid-century collections.

Moccasins

Moccasins are among the most diagnostic and resilient pieces of clothing to be found among the Aboriginal residents of Brochet. The Chipewyan inhabitants of the region most likely wore a style of moccasin classified by Hatt (1916: 164-165) as a Series VI consisting of more than one piece and having a T-shaped heel seam and a straight toe seam.

> …the bottom has a T-shaped heel seam, the heel flap being cut away. The toe seam is straight and reaches a little way down on the under side of the foot. As the anterior corners of the bottom piece, otherwise rectangular, are cut away, it can be joined to the tongue without any gathers, d" being joined to dd', m' to m and n' to n. The ankle band goes around the heel and is put through several holes near the upper rim of the bottom piece, and lastly through the tongue and top on each side; it is partly covered by a strip of thin buckskin which, for decorative purpose, is sewn into the seam between top and bottom [Hatt 1916: 165].

The moccasins have a soft sole fashioned from either moose hide or thick caribou hide. This style has a wide geographical distribution, having been used by many northern Indian tribes including Chipewyans and Crees (Turner 1955: 67; Duncan 1989: 107; Thompson 1994: 93). It was so common among the Athapaskans that Otis T. Mason (1896: 355) referred to it as the "Athapaskan type". Birket-Smith (1930: 54) reported this style as common among the Chipewyans of Churchill, Manitoba, in 1923 along with the "Iroquois form" (Hatt Series X). The Victoria Memorial Museum (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization) in Ottawa holds a number of Chipewyan examples (VI. A. 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 12, 17) (Hatt 1916: 165). The Métis, as well, adopted the style.

Alika Podolinsky Webber's 1983 study for the Bata Shoe Museum revised and enlarged Hatt's 1916 typology. Her new typology BSM 2(Ab) corresponds to Hatt's earlier Series VI (Webber 1989: 28).

Hatt classified a second style of moccasin, also present in Brochet, as Series X. It is made of more than one piece with a T-shaped heel seam and no straight toe seam. This style has also been referred to as the "Iroquoian" pattern by Mason (1896: 356). The toe is bent up over the end of the foot and sewn to the tongue or instep piece with various degrees of puckering (Hatt 1916: 171). The style features a large upper portion or vamp around which the bottom unit or sole is gathered (Thompson 1994: 93). Hatt describes a pair of Tahltan moccasins as typical of this style.

> Bottom and tongue are made of smoked, heavy buckskin; the top is made of coarse linen. A strip of red cloth is sewn into the seam between the bottom and the tongue. An ankle band, fastened by means of a knot on each side, is drawn through the holes near the upper rim of the bottom piece. The heel flap protrudes from the horizontal part of the heel seam [Hatt 1916: 171].

Again, Webber's 1983 revised typology BSM 2(Bb) corresponds to Hatt's earlier Series X (Webber 1989: 32).

These moccasins, as with the Series VI style, were widely distributed among northern groups (Hatt 1916: 171-172). Mr. F. W. Waugh of the Victoria Memorial Museum in Ottawa suggested to Hatt that Iroquois women sold moccasins of their own manufacture to tribes in the Northwest as far west as Winnipeg. Hatt felt that it was quite possible that the Iroquois pattern may have spread itself considerably in modern times (Hatt 1916: 174).

Judy Thompson (1994: 93) has supported Waugh's postulation. She notes that by the 1930s the Déné had been exposed to more than a century of the round-toed style worn by other Native people such as the Iroquois who came north with the fur trade. She has more specifically documented that this round-toed style began to appear in the Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River area around the 1930s. By the 1950s the style dominated and has remained popular to the present day.

Thompson (1994: 93-94) has also provided another possible source of stylistic influence by suggesting that the impact of this style may have been intensified in the early twentieth century when the Hudson's Bay Company imported quantities of moccasins from eastern Canada to their northern stores to satisfy the local demand for footwear. In the late 1920s the Tete de Boule of Quebec annually produced hundreds of pairs of moccasins for the Bay, at least ninety percent of which were of the round-toed variety. Although there is no evidence to suggest that the Bay sold moccasins of eastern manufacture in Brochet, it is possible that residents of Brochet may have seen such moccasins elsewhere in communities like The Pas, Manitoba, and Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.

Thompson (1994: 93) has also postulated yet another reason that might account for the popularity of the new style. Her research among seamstresses suggests that people simply prefer the look of the round-toed moccasin over the pointed-toed moccasin.

Kate Duncan (1988: 65; Thompson 1994: 95) has suggested that a more practical reason may be that round-toed moccasins fit better inside round-toed rubbers. P. G. Downes (1943: 95) recorded that the residents of Brochet (and everywhere else in the North) were wearing rubbers over their moccasins at the time of his visit in 1937. He also commented, "special moccasin rubbers are now made". The difficulty with this explanation is that rubbers were available in Canada for many years before the movement to the round-toed style of moccasin. Rubbers first appear in a variety of styles in T. Eaton & Company's Catalogue Fall/Winter 1888-1889 (T. Eaton Company Ltd. 1888: 34-35). By the Fall/Winter Catalogue of 1894-1895, the line had extended to include women's "opera pointed" rubbers (T. Eaton Company Ltd. 1894: 66).

There is no certainty of when rubbers may have reached Brochet. Birket-Smith (1930: 54) reported in 1923 that the Chipewyans of Churchill could be seen "trudging about in rubber galoshes". As a little girl, Mrs. Umpherville remembers having low rubbers for her moccasins that were "pointy but not too pointy". She thinks her family and some other people had them before the local Hudson's Bay store sold them. We can be reasonably confident in believing that at least some of the residents of Brochet, most likely the Métis and perhaps even the Cooks, may have encountered rubbers when they traveled out to more southern communities. The Cree may also have imported them when they began to move into the area around 1900. We can also be certain that by the late 19th century, both round toed and pointed toed rubbers were available. There is, therefore, no evident cause and effect that the development of round-toed moccasins followed the presence of round-toed rubbers. Nor does it appear as Downes suggested that "special moccasin rubbers" were ever made. It rather appears to have been a happy coincidence of converging technologies.

These explanations would not be inconsistent temporally with the appearance of the Series X round toed style in the Brochet area and thus offer an alternative theory to the Inuit explanation of the presence of round toed moccasins in the Brochet area. (See Mukluks.)

In 1968 staff ethnologist James G. E. Smith from the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa collected nineteen Chipewyan pairs of moccasins in Brochet. Of the nineteen pairs, eleven were of the round-toed style (Hatt Series X and Webber BSM 2(Bb). Two were of the pointed-toe style (Hatt Series VI and Webber BSM 2(Ab). The remaining six pairs were mukluks (Thompson 1990: 28). Smith noted in his field notes that the pointed-toe moccasins were no longer made by anyone in Brochet, although some of the older women could still do them. The explanation he was given was that the round-toed style was easier to make (Thompson 1990: 28). This is an explanation that Mrs. Umpherville reiterated in an interview conducted on August 15, 1998. However, Judy Thompson (1994: 93) has argued that the change in style likely had little to do with ease of manufacture.

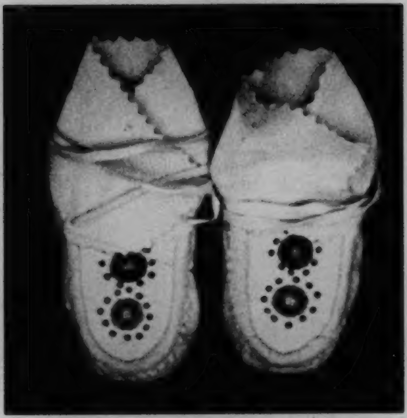
The popularity of the style may also be linked to the relatively large vamp of the round-toed moccasins. Glass seed beads grew in popularity as an embroidery medium for moccasin vamps over the previously popular silk thread embroidery from the early twentieth century. However, the embroidery designs were not easily adaptable to seed beads. The beads simply took up too much space. Thompson (1994: 94) notes that "early attempts to reproduce elaborate embroidered floral motifs in beads on the uppers of pointed-toed footwear often resulted in an unattractively crowded field, and Native craftswomen would have quickly realized the advantage of the larger upper." This speculation may be supported by the observation that Mrs. Umpherville's mother and her aunt Elise Benoune embroidered in the Norway House style as illustrated by Barbara Hail and Kate Duncan (1989: 70 & 137). However, among the hundreds of beading patterns that Mrs. Umpherville has in her bead box, there appear to be none that reflect the Norway House style of embroidery, which suggests that they did not transfer well to a beaded format.

Smith's collection demonstrates that both Series VI (BSM 2 (Ab)) and Series X (BSM 2 (Bb)) moccasins can exist within the same community. Alanson Skinner earlier described the two types of Swampy Cree moccasins in Oxford House, Manitoba.

> The one-piece moccasin made for summer use has a seam from the toe to an oval vamp over the instep. From a short cross seam at the heel, a vertical seam rises to the top of the moccasin. An ankle flap, which is open at the front and extends 6 to 8 inches up the leg is sewn with linen thread to the upper edges of the moccasin, and ankle thongs are attached to bind the flaps securely.
>
> The winter type, or 'mitt-moccasin' has a large vamp, no seam over the toe, and usually no design, since beadwork would easily be destroyed by constant wear of the snowshoe strap [Skinner 1911: 20].

Philomene Umpherville sewed three styles of moccasins. All three are derivative of Hatt's Series X or Webber's BSM 2(Bb) style. She began her sewing career by making decorated and undecorated wrap-around moccasins for her husband. The undecorated version is reserved for heavy outdoor work and is constructed from smoke tanned moose hide. White, un-smoked caribou hide was reserved for baby moccasin

Plate 37.

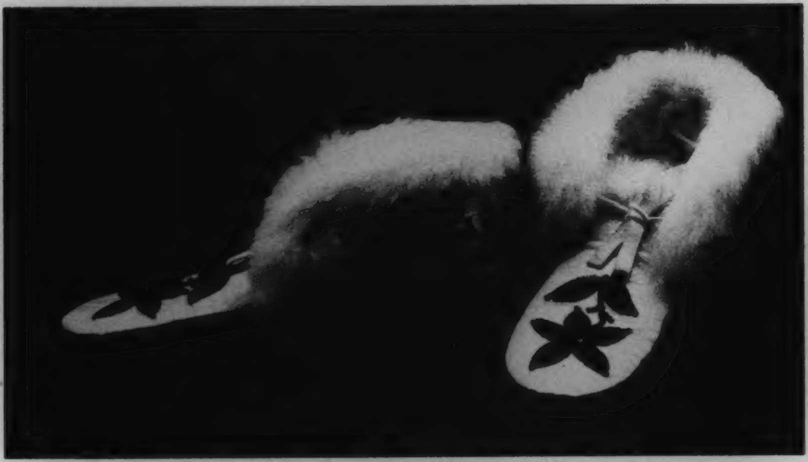


Caribou wrap-around baby moccasins, 1994
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

wrap-arounds. (Plate 37) These moccasins were beaded. As with all her beadwork on white caribou hide, Mrs. Umpherville covers the vamp with Saran Wrap® or a similar clear plastic material to keep the hide white. She beads through the Saran Wrap®. The customer or recipient may then remove the protective covering or not as she or he feels inclined.

Mrs. Umpherville also sews a variant of what is commonly referred to as a canoe style moccasin.[3] (Plate 38) These moccasins are made with a smoked moose hide sole and an un-smoked white caribou hide vamp and large stand-up cuff. Both the vamp and cuff are beaded. The top of the cuff of the illustrated pair is fur trimmed. Unlike canoe moccasins from other areas in northern Saskatchewan (Warner 1990: 46-47) and Alberta (Clayton-Gouthro 1994: 35), Mrs. Umpherville does not fully bead her vamps and cuffs for this style. In these other areas it is common to fill in the background of the pattern with white beads. The un-smoked caribou hide provides similar white background

Plate 38.

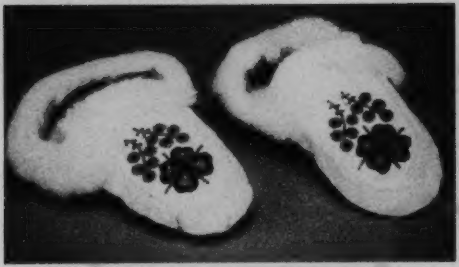


Canoe style moccasins, 1980
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

without the beadwork. Although during my tenure in Brochet (1978-1980) I saw only a few pairs of this style of moccasin, the number of patterns in her bead box for the stand-up cuff suggests that they were more popular at one time. Indeed, Mrs. Premachuk had twenty-two examples of this style, all in white caribou hide. (Plates 53 and 54) Their decline in popularity may be related to the fact that they were more expensive than moccasins made in other styles.

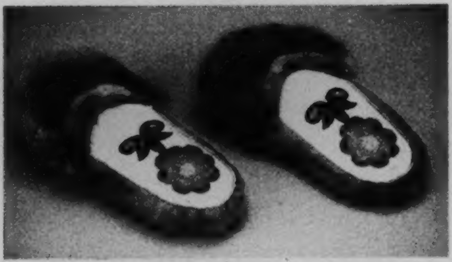
Finally, Mrs. Umpherville sews a slipper style moccasin. Kate Duncan (1989: 107) has suggested that this style may derive from Victorian slipper patterns and notes that they are common among the Cree. The slippers are made of smoked moose hide, smoked caribou hide or white un-smoked caribou hide (for women). In some instances,

Plate 39.



White caribou hide slippers, 1981
Canadian Museum of Civilization
III-DD-148, 1-2

Plate 40.



Home tanned moose hide slippers, 1981
Canadian Museum of Civilization
III-DD-149, 1-2

white un-smoked caribou hide may be used for the vamp along with a smoked moose hide bottom. Again, it is the vamp that is beaded. The cuff is lower than on the canoe moccasin and is not a separate piece. Rather, the cuff is defined by a fur trim, most commonly beaver for men and white rabbit for women. (Plates 39 & 40)

Mukluks

Both the name and the style of the mukluk were adopted relatively recently from the Inuit. However, it is uncertain precisely where or when the style first appeared among the Déné. Judy Thompson (1994: 95) has suggested that it may have coincided with the adoption of the round- toed moccasin, which would place it in the 1930s to 1940s. There are apparently no known examples in the literature of a pointed toed mukluk. There is no precise correlation with an existing Cree or Déné style of footwear. However, it served much the same function as the wrap-around moccasin. (Judy Thompson (1990) refers to wrap-around moccasins as ankle-wrap moccasins.) That is, it protected the lower leg as well as the foot. The style spread rapidly and was most likely introduced and developed in a number of areas more or less simultaneously. The style is now commonly considered traditional by many Native and non-Native people. It appears to have increasingly replaced the more traditional wrap-around moccasins in many areas (Thompson 1994: 95).

Although it is not certain when the mukluk first appeared in Brochet, there is certainly no evidence to indicate that there was any deviation from Thompson's proposed timeline. There is, however, evidence for the independent "discovery" of round-toed moccasins and, subsequently, mukluks in Brochet. James G. E. Smith has speculated that mukluks may have been introduced to Brochet in the late 1930s when a band of Inuit moved into the area to hunt caribou (Thompson 1990: 28). When asked where the people of Brochet learned to make round-toed moccasins, Mrs. Umpherville replied "From the Eskimos". She continued to say that the Indians in Brochet used to laugh at the Inuit calling them "Beaver Tails" because of their round toed moccasins. Indeed, the Inuit commonly traded in Brochet during the latter 19th century and continued to use it as a place of refuge during times of starvation until the 1940s.

The Caribou Eskimo frequented Brochet on and off from the late 1880s until the late 1930s. Prior to 1900, the Caribou Eskimo appear to have worn mukluks, which consisted of only two pieces, a leg section and a sole. The leg section extended above the knee (Oakes & Riewe 1995: 65, 137). After 1900 the Caribou Eskimo developed a caribou skin mukluk that consisted of an upper leg section, lower leg section, vamp, and sole. The upper leg section was cut from thick-haired caribou skin, sewn with the hair to the outside (Oakes & Riewe 1995: 139, 144; Oakes 1991: 90, 256; Stenton 1991: 8). This stylistic change supports Smith's suggestion that the mukluk was adopted by Brochet residents later rather than earlier during the period of contact with the Inuit.

I have observed two independent pieces of evidence that might support a direct local adoption of the mukluk from the Inuit in the Brochet area. In the spring of 1980, I was offered a pair of newly made caribou mukluks with candy striped beaded vamps by a Chipewyan man from Wollaston Lake who told me his grandmother had made them. Aside from the beaded vamp, the mukluks fit the description of a pair of Caribou Eskimo mukluks.

My husband and I also saw a pair of caribou leg skin mukluks with beaded floral vamps that same spring in the Lynn Lake Friendship Centre that had been made by a Chipewyan woman in Lac Brochet. (Plate 41) Jillian Oakes & Rick Riewe (1995: 139, 144) and Jillian Oakes (1991: 225-228) describe caribou leg skin boots as a variant, although not a common one, of the Caribou Eskimo mukluks. The Caribou Eskimo do not bead the vamps on their mukluks. Although Mrs. Umpherville did not make many

Plate 41.

Caribou leg skin mukluks, 1980
Artist unknown
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

such mukluks herself (her husband preferred the wrap-around moccasin style for outdoor work), their presence in the area may lend some credence to the postulation that the borrowing of the form may have been indeed a local phenomenon. Mrs. Umpherville made four pairs of caribou leg skin mukluks. She made one pair for her son Philip and three for sale. One customer was from Winnipeg, another was a teacher, and the third she could not remember. She was proud of what she had made and even used white caribou hide for the piping for the trim and for the ties at the top of the mukluks. She also made pompoms out of caribou skin for them. She said they "looked nice".

Wrap-around moccasins co-existed with mukluks in Brochet in the late 1970s. They were particularly favored as work footwear by most men over the mukluk. When made from smoked tanned moose hide, the moccasins take on a water-repellant quality. My husband verified this when traveling with a group of men in the bush. They had stopped to portage their sledges over an icy waterfall. The ice was thin and some of the men broke through, soaking their feet, a serious matter at 30° below zero. Remembering his anthropological training, my husband shuffled across the thin ice in the manner of Alaskan Eskimos, not breaking contact with the surface of the ice. Having successfully navigated the ice, he stepped off the ice onto a patch of snow and plunged into the water up to his knee. He pulled his leg out quickly and the water froze to ice before it soaked through his wrap-around moccasins. The men who were wearing skidoo boots from the Hudson's Bay Store were not so fortunate.

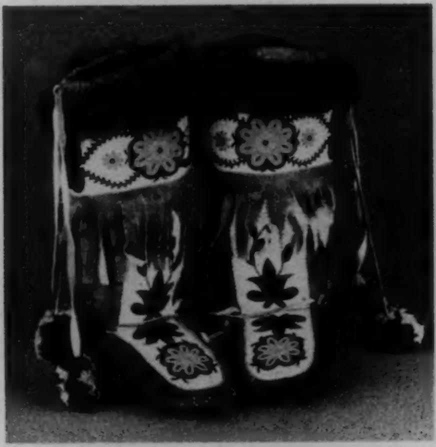
The wrap-around moccasin was generally favored over the mukluk by both the older men and women and for very young children (See Plate 37) in Brochet. I cannot recall an instance of seeing anyone over thirty wearing mukluks. Younger people of both sexes tended to favor the mukluk. This was particularly evident when students in the school would go outside the community to school related events such as sports competitions. Wearing mukluks appears to have been a way to reinforce their Native identity. Conversely, it also reinforced a non-Native stereotype regarding the dress of Native individuals. The question of whether the mukluks were worn entirely out of free choice or in response to the outside world, remains unanswered.

The mukluks sewn by Mrs. Umpherville were principally sold to non-Native customers. This may partially have been a matter of expense. The mukluks I purchased in 1979 cost $80.00, which was beyond the reach of most local Native customers.

While the wrap-around moccasin used for work in the bush was seldom, if ever, beaded, the mukluks were heavily beaded, making them unsuitable for cold weather work. Mrs. Umpherville had beaded a pair of mukluks for her son Philip who had gone into the bush with his father to work. Philip began to complain that his feet were cold. His father offered to exchange his undecorated wrap-around moccasins with him. As Albert tells the story "When I put on them mukluks, they was so cold it was like someone had put a piece of ice on my foot and held it there." The glass beads were excellent transmitters of cold. Albert took his hunting knife and cut all the beads off the vamp. When they returned home and Mrs. Umpherville saw what he had done, she vowed never to bead another pair of moccasins for her husband again. It was a promise she kept. However, she did continue to make undecorated wrap-around moccasins for her husband for outdoor work.

The mukluk provided an unusually large canvas for beadwork for Native artisans such as Mrs. Umpherville. The vamp was substantially increased in size over the previous Series VI (Hatt 1916: 164-165) moccasin. In addition, vertical leg panels and a crowning horizontal top panel provided more potential space to be decorated than any other garment with the exception of a jacket (and perhaps a vest). Interestingly, some Caribou Eskimo mukluks also carry a decorative horizontal top panel (Oakes & Riewe 1995: 144). Whether the Caribou Eskimo style of mukluk with the decorated upper band made an impact on the preference or even existence of a decorated upper horizontal band in Brochet is unknown. However, it is known that the Caribou Eskimo came to Brochet and that the rounded toe of their mukluks was noted. Mrs. Umpherville became a master of this new form and maximized its potential to include beadwork beneath bands of fringe where it could not readily be seen. She sewed one of the pairs of mukluks (III DD-40 a-b) acquired by James G. E. Smith in 1968 in the Chipewyan style. (Plate 42)

Plate 42.



Caribou hide mukluks, 1968
Canadian Museum of Civilization
III-DD-40a,b

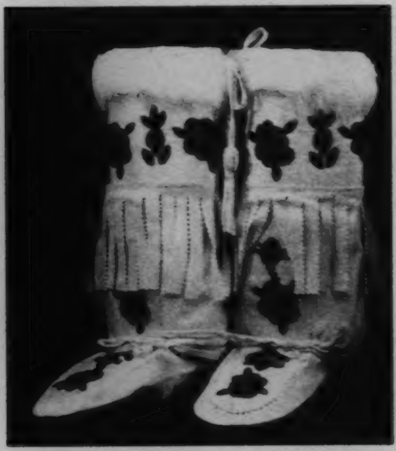
His comments on the mukluks included the following:

> These are a sample of the very best Chipewyan mukluks, and are not typical. The finest Chipewyan mukluks are

> made by a number of Cree women who devote more time, thought, effort and care to their production. Mrs. Umpherville's products have been exhibited and sold in "the South", are regularly purchased by the white inhabitants of Brochet for themselves and as gifts, all she can produce otherwise are purchased for sale in Lynn Lake, where the prices range from $40 upwards [J. G. E. Smith, Canadian Museum of Civilization catalogue notes III DD 40a,b].

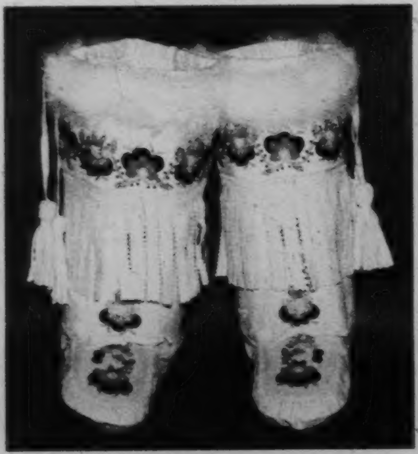
Mrs. Umpherville has sewn mukluks in two predominant and related styles over the years. Her earlier work as evidenced in the collection made by Neilla Premachuk (1960-1979) was made in the Chipewyan style from white un-smoked caribou hide. (See Plate 43.) The vamps, front and back vertical panels, and horizontal panels are

Plate 43.



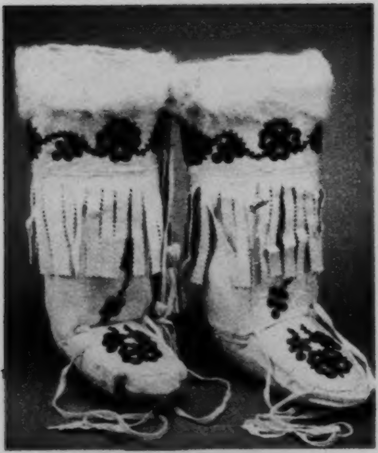
White caribou hide mukluks, 1960s-70s
Collection of Neilla Premachuk

Plate 44.



White caribou hide mukluks, 1960s-70s
Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature
H4-O-574

Plate 45.



White caribou hide mukluks, 1968
Canadian Museum of Civilization
III-DD-144a,b

beaded, although not fully. Fringe characteristically falls from the bottom of the horizontal panel to approximately two to three inches above the ankle. The fringe is characteristically cut with pinking shears to increase the decorative effect. The tops of the mukluks are most frequently trimmed with white rabbit or arctic fox. However, mink and beaver have also been used. The upper ties end with decorative pom-poms of yarn, fur, or leather.

The style of mukluk purchased by James G. E. Smith in 1968 (Canadian Museum of Civilization III-DD-40a,b) (Plate 42) follows same the basic pattern as the un-smoked caribou hide mukluks, but in this case the vamp, front and back vertical panels and the horizontal panel are made of un-smoked caribou hide while the sole, side panels and fringe are made of smoked caribou hide. The Museum of Man and Nature in Winnipeg also holds an example of this style from 1969 (H4-0-595 a & b) (Plate 46) made for Diane Durnin, a teacher in Brochet. This stylistic variation, as revealing as it may be, is more likely reflective of fluctuating economic imperatives, such as a change in the potential customer's taste or gender (white hide mukluks appear to have appealed more to women than men), than of an artistic change based on her evolving style.

Plate 46.

Caribou hide mukluks, 1969
Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature
H4-O-595, a & b

By the late 1970s, Mrs. Umpherville was sewing mukluks exclusively from smoked tanned moose hide. Caribou had not migrated within easy hunting distance of Brochet in the winter of 1978-79. The following winter found caribou once again within reasonable hunting distance of the community. However, the hunt was conducted from November to March. Many of the caribou hides were bundled and frozen for tanning in the spring. The Chipewyan in Lac Brochet would tan hides somewhat earlier than the residents of Brochet.

Both my husband and I acquired smoked moose hide mukluks from Mrs. Umpherville in 1979. Due in part to a scarcity of smoked hide, there was no fringe put on either pair. Indeed, my husband's pair has commercial leather "cuffs". (Plate 46) Rather than fringe, a second band of fur was added at the bottom of the horizontal band. In another departure in style, the vamps of both pairs are fully beaded. By filling in the background of the floral beadwork on the vamp with white beads, Mrs. Umpherville simulated the white caribou hide that she more commonly used on her vamps.

Plate 47.

Smoked moose hide mukluks, 1979
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

Mittens

The cut and style of the mittens that Mrs. Umpherville made during her career have a long history in the Subarctic and even onto the Plains. Although they may not be originally Métis in origin or exclusively used by the Métis, a case could be made that they are nevertheless representative of Métis workmanship and style.

Dr. Nathan Sturgis Jarvis, a surgeon with the United States Army, made one of the earliest accounts of this style of mitten. Dr. Jarvis was stationed at Fort Snelling on the upper Mississippi River from 1833 to 1836 where he collected “curiosities”. Fort

Snelling is located just south of present-day Minneapolis, Minnesota. On May 29, 1836 he wrote:

> I can get no intelligence of the box sent last year to Dr. Torrey. If not as yet rec'd., it has doubtless been stolen by those on the boat under the supposition of its containing Indian curiosities, for which there is a great rage [Feder 1964: 10].

In September of 1848 Dr. Jarvis presented his collection of curiosities to the New York Historical Society (Feder 1964: 10). In 1937 the objects were transferred to the Brooklyn Museum, which subsequently purchased them in 1960 (Feder 1964: 6). Among the objects purchased were two pairs of mittens (the third pair having been lost) that were identified in the Jarvis catalogue in one entry as Sioux and Chippewa. Norman Feder (1964: 26) proposed that the mittens might be Chippewa since they do not match the description of Sioux mittens provided by Reverend Pond:

> Their mittens were very large, of the skin of some animal tanned with the hair on, and were fastened together with a cord passing over the shoulders. When they wished to use their hands, as in shooting, loading their guns, cutting up game, etc. they drew them out of their mittens, which were used only to keep the hands warm while walking [Feder 1964: 26].

The Jarvis mittens appear to be Métis and are almost certainly constructed of white hide. The Métis traveled every summer in Red River cart brigades south from the Red River Colony to trade in the Fort Snelling area. The Eastern Sioux from the Plains and the Ojibway from the Great Lakes also traded in the area. Further, the Sioux mittens described by Reverend Pond correspond to mittens seen and used by Métis, Cree and Chipewyan hunters in Brochet in the late 1970s. The use of an "idiot string" is prevalent throughout the North.

The Earl of Caledon collected a pair of white hide Red River style Métis mittens in 1841-42 which are illustrated in the *Bo'jou, Neejee: Profiles of Canadian Art* museum catalogue which accompanied an exhibition of the same name developed by the National Museum of Canada (Brasser 1976: 175).

The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine in Scotland collected a pair of Red River Métis type white buckskin mittens with quillwork in 1850 (Brasser 1987: 131). It is worth noting that the cuff has descended sufficiently by 1850 to accommodate the decorative addition of fabric, particularly ribbons. This style appears to have been an outgrowth of the simpler style of shorter cuff that was decorated in the same manner as the back of the hand and the thumb. It may well have been fuelled by the availability of silk ribbons for the Native American trade as a result of fashion changes brought on in Europe by the French Revolution (Marriott 1958: 54). The use of ribbons dates from the very late eighteenth century in the Western Great Lakes region (Conn 1980) and spreads into the eastern plains in the early nineteenth century (Hail & Duncan 1989: 163). Oddly it does not appear in the Subarctic until the mid 19th century. This is particularly peculiar when one considers the regular cart trade that was carried on between the Red River Settlement and the Fort Snelling area.

Bernard Rogan Ross purchased a pair of mittens in 1862 that appear to be illustrative of this stylistic development. Although they have subsequently been identified as Chipewyan (Boudreau 1974: 115), this attribution appears questionable.

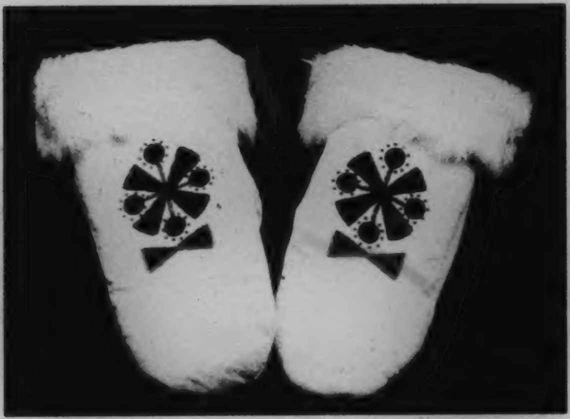
Emma Shaw Colcleugh collected a similar pair at Fort McMurray in 1894. Barbara Hail and Kate Duncan dated them to circa 1860 (Hail & Duncan 1989: 163), although it is not clear whether this is based on stylistic similarity with mittens collected by Bernard Ross or on Colcleugh's writings. Hail & Duncan reference not only the Ross mittens but also a similar pair in the Inkster collection (MMMN H4.3176 and 77) in the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature and an additional pair (MMMN H4.31.114) from Isle a la Crosse, Saskatchewan in the same museum.

Norman Boudreau (1974: 135) illustrates a pair of Métis mittens acquired from S. H. Harris, whose father was a fur broker for the Hudson's Bay Company in London about 1870.

A pair of white caribou hide mittens from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation was included in the 1931 exhibit "Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts" in New York City (Orchard 1985: 192). The exposition marked the first major exhibition of Native American art as art rather than as ethnographic specimens. The inclusion of the mittens attests to the esteem in which such work was held.

The mittens produced by Mrs. Umpherville retain the proportion of cuff to mitten that is exhibited by the earlier mittens previously discussed. The cuff, previously commonly decorated with cut ribbon work, is decorated with white rabbit fur in Mrs. Umpherville's work. While Mrs. Umpherville may well have developed this adaptation

Plate 48.



White caribou hide mittens, 1979
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

independently, it is not without precedent. A Yellowknife pair of mittens (CMC VI-S-5) in the Canadian Museum of Civilization made in the early twentieth century display a similar cuff made of muskrat fur (Thompson 1994: 78). The body of Mrs. Umpherville's mitten is exclusively of white, un-smoked caribou hide. The back is characteristically decorated with a single floral element, although sometimes a geometric pattern is selected. The mittens themselves are far too delicate to withstand heavy wear. Consequently, they are produced exclusively for dress wear for women. (Plate 48)

Gauntlets

Gauntlets are a form probably related to mittens, although the nature of the relationship is unclear. As noted in the previous section about the mittens collected by Dr. Nathan Jarvis ca. 1833-36 and subsequently described by the Reverend Pond, it would appear that the smaller mittens and a larger variety co-existed from a reasonably earlier period. Whether or not gauntlets evolved out of the larger style of mitten is impossible to determine at this time. However, one might note that the larger form of mitten co-existed with the true gauntlet in the late 1970s in Brochet.

Gauntlets are distinguished from mittens by an enlarged cuff that flares outward from the wrist. They are frequently decorated with a band of fur at the wrist and at the edge of the gauntlet. Fringe is also frequently attached to the gauntlet's outer seam. Gauntlets may occur in either a glove or a mitten form that is, with or without separate fingers.

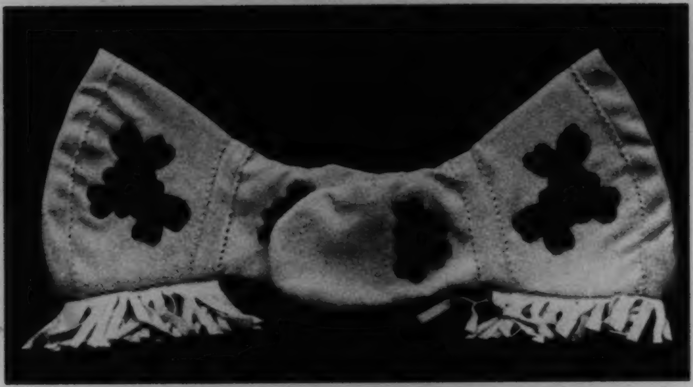
There are several early examples of this style of hand wear in the Canadian boreal forest. Judy Thompson (1994: 78) has illustrated a 1905 Déné-Métis pair of glove style gauntlets from Fort Chipewyan (CMC VI-Z-250). Similarly Hail and Duncan (1989: 173) illustrate an early twentieth century Cree or Cree-Métis embroidered pair of gauntlets from The Pas, Manitoba (Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology 77-113). The 1894 photograph of a group of Chipewyans in front of the Mission Saint-Pierre du Lac Caribou (Plate 32) show most of the individuals wearing large mittens. However, the sixth person from the right appears to be wearing gauntlets. The ca. 1920 photograph of Rene Lapensée (Plate 34) clearly shows him wearing mitten style gauntlets with fringe.

Both the larger mitten and the gauntlet proper offer a significant advantage over the smaller mitten for cold weather serviceability. The wrist is better covered and, in the case of the gauntlet, the wearer may tuck his coat cuff inside the gauntlet. My husband was advised not to travel on the land with the men unless he wore his gauntlets (made by Mrs. Umpherville) so that he could tuck his parka sleeves inside, thereby avoiding frostbite.

In general in the North, it appears that the heavily beaded gauntlet is replacing the larger mitten in popularity in much the same way that the mukluk replaced the wrap-around moccasin. Indeed, matched mukluk and gauntlet sets were and are still considered to be a high status symbol in the North. In 1979 it was widely believed in Brochet that Mrs. Umpherville would normally only sell a pair of mukluks or a pair of gauntlets to an individual in a year. For Mrs. Umpherville, it was an issue of fairness to her customers because the demands for her work exceed her ability to produce. It would thus take two years to assemble a matched set.

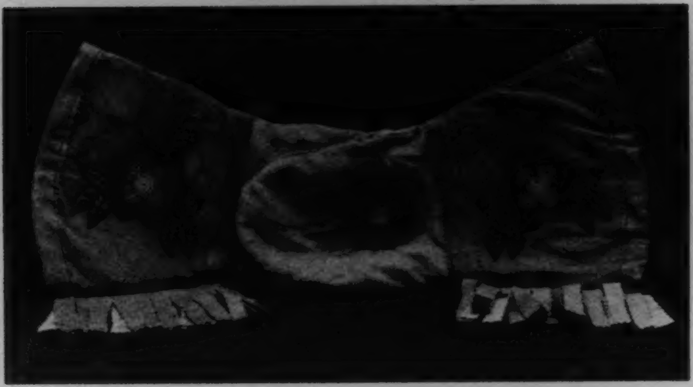
Mrs. Umpherville has made beaded gauntlets from smoked moose hide, smoked caribou hide, and un-smoked white caribou hide. The fringe on the gauntlets is typically cut with pinking shears, as is the fringe on her mukluks. She beads on the back of both the mitten and gauntlet. During the period from 1960 to 1979 when she was beading for Neilla Premachuk, she worked primarily in un-smoked caribou hide. The Canadian Museum of Civilization has a pair of her white caribou hide gauntlets in a glove style (III-DD-145 a & b). As well, the Museum of Man and Nature in Winnipeg holds both a pair of white caribou hide gauntlets (H4-0-568) (Plate 49) and smoked caribou hide gauntlets (H4-0-564) (Plate 50) both in the mitten style. However, by the

Plate 49.



Un-smoked caribou hide gauntlets, 1960s-1970s
Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature, H4-0-568

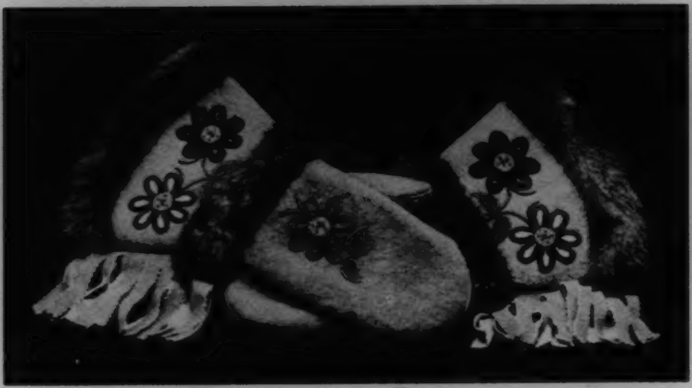
Plate 50.



Smoked caribou hide gauntlets, 1960s-1970s
Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature
H4-0-564

late 1970s Mrs. Umpherville had switched to smoked moose hide. (Plate 51) This change in media probably relates more closely to the relative scarcity of caribou hides in the late

Plate 51.



Smoked moose hide gauntlets, 1979
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

1970s and to local market demand than it does to a purely stylistic inspiration.

---

[1] The Canadian Museum of Civilization records had incorrectly identified Mrs. Umpherville as the maker. Mrs. Umpherville identified the error when she saw a photograph of the jacket and I brought it to the attention of Margot Reid, a cataloguer in Collection Management Services (personal communication, October 19, 1994).

[2] The yoke is incorrectly catalogued as a vest.

[3] See Warner (1990: 46-47) for additional illustrations of the canoe style of moccasin.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BEADING WOMAN

In 1943 when writing of the Ojibway, Carrie Lyford stated

> In the old days the Ojibwa women usually tore or cut out a birch bark, raw hide, or paper pattern for the floral motifs which they expected to use in their all-over embroidery work. Cut-out patterns were also used in the ribbon work or appliqué. An old bladder bag filled with patterns of leaves, roses, and other flowers is a treasure much prized by the collector, and a woman will seldom part with her carefully collected patterns. They are among the most personal of her possessions from which only death may separate her. A few well-filled bladder bags are found in museum collections (Lyford 1943: 147-149).

Kate Duncan (1989: 68) noted that among the Athapaskans "many contemporary beadworkers keep a box of patterns of simple motifs and motif elements which they combine to form designs; others prefer to work entirely freehand."

In 1980 Philomene Umpherville permitted me to copy her collection of paper beading patterns held just as carefully and prized as much as those of the Ojibway or Athapaskan women. They were, however, kept in a cookie tin that looked like a treasure chest rather than in a bladder bag.

There were 345 patterns drawn on white, lined scribbler paper or on unlined white writing pad paper. Many of the beading patterns were on the paper shape of a sewing pattern. While some were in the shape of mukluk tops or vamps, others were in the shape of gauntlet cuffs or just drawn on a scrap of paper. Most papers had folds and wrinkles and had dark pencil and sometimes pen lines on them revealing simple to more complex designs. Occasionally a pattern had colors written on it as a reminder of a past customer's desires or a suggestion made by Mrs. Umpherville on possible color combinations. The patterns were kept in random order with a pattern for an infant moccasin vamp of a chick followed by a man or woman's floral mukluk vamp. The majority of patterns had floral motifs, some of which were repeated in different sizes or for a different function. While to me it appeared that many of the patterns had evolved out of each other or were closely related, Mrs. Umpherville saw most of them as independent designs.

In this collection of patterns there were also 28 small drawings created by her son Philip. Most were too small to be used as they were, but three appeared in larger forms in the larger group of patterns. Mrs. Umpherville kept the smaller drawings as a memento of her son as she did some of the other patterns drawn and given to her by other people. There was also one gold embossed long stem rose on a harder white paper that was just pretty.

In 1993 I returned with two sets of these copied patterns. Some of her previous patterns had become lost and Mrs. Umpherville was delighted to once again have copies of them. She had lent some patterns to various women who didn't return them, and others had been misplaced. At that time, I also photocopied 20 additional patterns at the nursing station that had not been in the original copied collection. Other patterns, particularly those depicting animals, did not appear to have been kept, but to have been re-drawn for a special piece of beadwork. These were not drawn by her but most often by Mr. Umpherville or by their son Clifford.

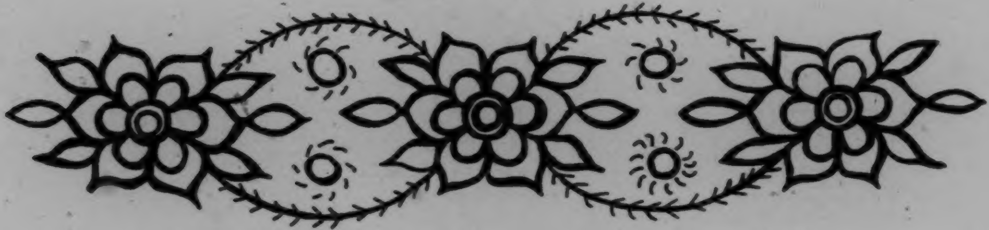
In 1998 I discovered more beaded designs on family articles that had not been saved on the initial paper patterns. In addition, when I examined my photographs of museum and private collections I could identify approximately 34 more patterns not represented by the paper patterns in Mrs. Umpherville's bead box. This count is approximate and does not include variations of a particular design.

To add to this mass of beading patterns, Mrs. Umpherville's Auntie Elsie gave many of her patterns to Mrs. Umpherville. Most of these were geometric and have since been lost. Mrs. Umpherville developed her own collection of floral patterns and prefers them to geometric patterns.

Mrs. Umpherville's repertoire of beading patterns is very extensive, and quantifying the number of patterns that she has is very difficult. She didn't know how many she had drawn. However, we once joked about how large a pile her lifetime of beadwork would make. She thought her kitchen and living room would be filled to the ceiling.

What Lyford does not address, and others do only to a small degree, is the application of patterns to the finished product. By application I do not mean the physical process of beading but rather the creative process of modifying a pattern to suit the tastes of the client or recipient and to suit the particular object that serves as the artist's canvas. For Mrs. Umpherville, an intrinsic attribute of a pattern includes the purpose of the beadwork in both functional and decorative respects. A pattern encompasses variables of the design itself as well as the shape and size of the canvas, even if she is only visualizing them.[1] The changing of a design element creates a new pattern, and often Mrs. Umpherville recognizes no connection between the two patterns. In addition, when she modifies a design on a pattern in response to a change in function, a new pattern is formed. For example, Figure 7 is a pattern for the horizontal upper band on a pair of mukluks for men or women. The central floral element changes from two lines of dark blue beads outlining a soft blue or turquoise interior for men to two lines of dark pink or red beads outlining a pink interior for women.

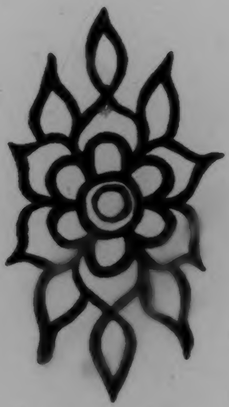
Figure 7.



For Horizontal mukluk bands
Pattern #222

The front and back of the mukluks feature an enlargement of the central element, beaded in a vertical position.

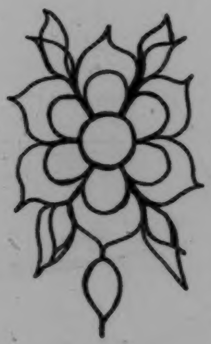
Figure 8.



Pattern #23
50% reduction

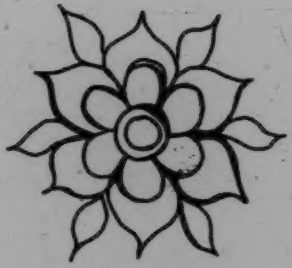
This central element is again modified for the vamp. Two versions, Figures 9 and 10, exist. Pattern #140 is for a larger vamp. It has kept only one of its extended leaf elements. The rounder end is placed over the toe and the end of the flower petal is used as the central guide to fold the paper pattern into two even halves to line up with the leather vamp. Extra drawing on the leaves on the pattern indicate Mrs. Umpherville's thoughts about the pattern even as she was drawing it. Furthermore, although the central circle is not included, her final treatment of it would have been the same in each case. Pattern #234 is a rounder version of the central element. The two leaf extensions at the peaked ends of the opposite flower petals have been removed. The flower has been made fuller partially by adding two smaller leaves at the flower petal joints that previously did not have any emphasizes.

Figure 9.



For Vamps
Pattern #140, 50% reduction

Figure 10.

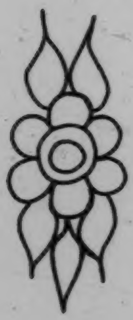


For Vamps
Pattern #234, 50% reduction

In summation, a repeated element in a design on a pattern may be used for a mukluk top; then selected in an elongated form for the mukluk front; and simply isolated in the original form for the vamp. Each is recognized as a separate pattern that may be combined with others.

Although Mrs. Umpherville did not discuss the next pattern in conjunction with these patterns, it appears to me that it is closely related. Pattern #273 (Figure 11) is a child's mukluk front. The above designs have been altered again in response to her

Figure 11.



Pattern #273
50% reduction

canvas. The outer flower petals have been dropped but the central petals have remained about the same size as in the horizontal mukluk band. Furthermore, elongated leaves have been included to fit the vertical rectangular shape of the child's mukluk front.

As in this case, sometimes the function of the patterns produces a shift in size – or a new pattern – due to the age or sex of the recipient. A shift in size usually indicates an age or gender difference. Colour then becomes a factor, so again new patterns will be created as this variable is manipulated. Often patterns that look very similar on paper appear strikingly different when executed on an object because of variation in size and colours used.

In the case of Mrs. Umpherville, the pattern is as much of a guide as an absolute form. Modification of one pattern for a given project may lead to the creation of another pattern. Patterns are subject to five variables that inter-relate to create the final product. The variables are the gender of the recipient, the age of the recipient, the size of the object (most commonly a garment to which the pattern is to be affixed), the colours applied to the pattern, and finally the personal tastes of the recipient and of Mrs. Umpherville. Although Mrs. Umpherville has a set of criteria that guide her creation and application of beading patterns, a careful examination of her instructions and her finished pieces suggests that the process is much more fluid and organic than simply slavishly following a set of rigid rules. Her guidelines merely provide a rudimentary set of parameters within which the creative process may take place. They are sometimes contradicted and contravened, but they nevertheless form a basis from which to create.

Beads

Venice monopolized the manufacture of glass beads from the twelfth century well into the nineteenth century. However, by about 1885 Czech beads began to be heavily imported for the Indian trade. Although Venetian beads are still available, more recently Japanese beads have made their way into the market (Duncan 1989: 66). It is Czechoslovakian seed beads that Mrs. Umpherville used in her beading. "Seed beads" is a term used to refer to small round beads no larger than two millimeters in diameter. Seed beads are produced by drawing

> a blown bubble of glass attached to the end of a solid iron rod…out into a long hollow tube as much as 150 feet long. The completely cooled cane is then broken into bead-sized segments, in the early days with a sharp instrument, today by the use of a guillotine-like machine which actually "control fractures" the glass. … The sharp edges of the newly cut beads are rounded by tumbling them cold in a drum of sand and wood ashes to fill in the center holes, heating and stirring them until the edges have softened, then agitating them to sift out the sand and ashes. Different sizes are sorted through sieves of varying fineness [Duncan 1989: 197].

Seed beads are commonly sold in hanks of about twelve strands nine to ten inches long or in clear plastic packages of loose beads of 50, 250, or 500 grams. Loose beads are also less commonly sold in vials of seven to ten grams. Mrs. Umpherville purchased her beads in all the various formats. The beads themselves are sized according to a numerical system whereby the larger the number, the smaller the bead. That is, Size 12 beads are larger than Size 16 beads. Mrs. Umpherville worked almost exclusively in Size 10 beads. She purchased her beads from a variety of sources including the local Hudson's Bay Company store, Mrs. Premachuk's trading post, Kerr's Furs in The Pas, Winnipeg Raw Fur Exchange, and other retail outlets when she traveled outside the community. Despite the volume of work she produced, she never purchased her beads from a wholesaler.[2]

Mrs. Umpherville keeps all her beads and her patterns in commercial cookie tins, which are generically referred to as bead boxes. This appears to be the preferred method of storage for most serious beaders. Kate Duncan (1989: 66) has recorded that in 1940 the Hudson's Bay Company stocked twelve colours of beads. Duncan goes on to suggest that that fifteen to twenty colours was the optimum number of shades available to a beadworker at any given time and that slightly fewer was more often the case. In the 1980's Mrs. Umpherville's stock of colours in both opaque and transparent beads probably exceeded thirty, based on the number of colours present in a selected number of pieces.

Mrs. Umpherville loves bright, colourful beads and her eyes sparkle as she runs her fingers through the bead skeins in her tin. Although her preference is to work with clear and iridescent beads, she also has used opaque beads extensively. On each occasion she will consider her pattern, the recipient and, of course, her supply in her final selection.

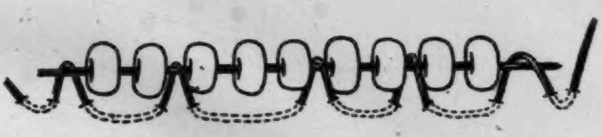
Beading Techniques

Mrs. Umpherville's principal beadwork stitch has variously been called the overlaid or spot stitch (Orchard 1975: 150) or the couched stitch (Duncan 1989: 66). William Orchard provides an excellent description of this stitch.

> In this technique the beads are threaded on a string and laid in the desired position, following the lines of the pattern when an overlaid stitch is made between a number of beads, sometimes two or three, or, as in a few cases, between each pair. *The latter, however, occurs only in an exceptionally fine piece of work or where some very short turns in the lines of the decoration are made.* The overlaid stitch passes over the string on which the beads are threaded, and through the surface only, if the material being decorated is leather; but if the material is cloth, the stitches are carried through from front to back [Orchard 1975: 151]. (Emphasis mine)

The technique is performed with two needles. The first carries the string of beads that is laid on the material, while the second needle is used for the overlay or couching stitch.

Figure 12.



The overlaid, spot, or couched stitch

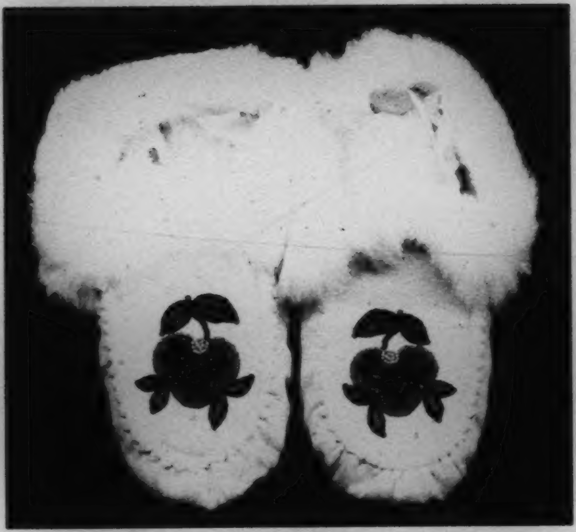
(Orchard 1975: 151)

Mrs. Umpherville routinely couched either every bead or every other bead. Indeed, one of Mrs. Umpherville's primary technical criteria for good beadwork is that it be tight. I have seen her run her thumb over a piece of beadwork and say "It's no good, not tight" or conversely "It's good and tight". Further, unlike Orchard's description, all her couched stitches pierce the leather from front to back. This suggests that in the matter of technique, at least, she produced exceptionally fine pieces.

Kate Duncan (1989: 66) has suggested that the couching technique was introduced at the same time as the steel needle. The technique allows for flexibility in motif configuration, since the beads can fall in a curved as well as a straight line.

When working on a floral and leaf design, Mrs. Umpherville would most often begin with the circle that defines the center of the flower and then fills it in. Then she would outline the curved petals of the flower and leaves with one or two rows of darker or contrasting coloured beads and at this time she would also do the stem(s). She would then fill in the space created by the outline with a lighter shade. She would usually begin with the flowers and then move on to the leaves. If the beader filled in the flowers immediately, it would make the piece disproportionately "heavy" in one area and place unequal stress on the leather which would affect the beadwork. This is the manner in which she taught me to bead. However, by examining photographs of artifacts from museum and private collections, I can see that she manipulates her rule of darker beads outlining lighter infill as exemplified in Plate 52.

Plate 52.



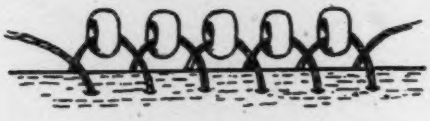
White caribou hide slippers, 1980
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

Mrs. Umpherville is proud of her ability "to shade". By this term she refers to the use of different hues of the same color and the combinations of very different colors. She often tries to incorporate her observations of nature into her shading. For instance, she makes note of the brown pollen grains mixed with the yellow center of the flower. Another example is her use of an odd clear bead to add sparkle to her yellow or orange sun swirl. In addition, on those special occasions when she shades animals, she relies heavily on the men in her family to advise her on colour selections in order to help her "shade good".

When she can't understand or doesn't like the shading or color used on a beading pattern, she won't use the pattern. This is the case with some of the patterns given to her. At other times when the shading for a pattern does not meet her taste, she may alter either or both the pattern design and colors to create a new pattern. In one instance, a man brought moccasins for her to repair. She didn't do the work and the implication was that neither the beadwork nor the sewing was any good. She cut the beads off one vamp for re-use and saved the other one intact. She showed it to me as an example of improper shading. Petals which she would consider part of the flower were an opaque pale green with an opaque dull deep red interior. But what offended her the most was a pink stem. I believe that she made the man a complete new pair of moccasins rather than incorporate these vamps into her sewing.

Mrs. Umpherville employed two methods of edging her beadwork. She most frequently used a whipstitch carrying four beads applied from front to back. The stitch was sufficiently tight that a couching stitch was not used. She used this stitch to finish knife sheaths. Less frequently she used an edging technique described by William Orchard (1975: 160-161), "…a single row of beads only is used, and the thread crosses itself between the beads. … In the finished work the threads are hardly visible."

Figure 13.



Edging Stitch

(Orchard 1975: 160)

This second technique provided a much more delicate finish and was used for items such as hair barrettes.

Origins and Meanings

Although it might be informative to examine Mrs. Umpherville's patterns through a detailed analysis of form and symmetry, this study will not.[3] Rather, it will concentrate on her stories of where, how, and from whom she acquired the ideas for some of her patterns.

Like many artists, Mrs. Umpherville drew upon the world around her for inspiration for her beadwork patterns. From the most mundane of daily objects, to the natural world, to deep within her own psyche, Mrs. Umpherville always searched for fresh ideas to transform her patterns. I am most fortunate in that, unlike many other researchers working with beadwork artists, I am able to co-relate specific patterns with their meaning and source of inspiration. Other studies interpreted the meaning of a few patterns. Jennifer Sapiel Neptune, a Passamaquoddy, isolated twelve natural floral correlates for beading patterns for an on-line exhibition of the Hudson Museum at the University of Maine entitled *Brilliantly Beaded, Northeastern Native American Beadwork* (http://www.umaine.edu/hudsonmuseum). However, of the twelve patterns Neptune identified, only six can be correlated to a single species.

Cecile M. Clayton-Gouthro's work among the Janvier Band Chipewyan in northeastern Alberta, meanwhile identifies only three named motifs: the rosette, berry, and rosebud (Clayton-Gouthro 1994: 64-65).

Kate Duncan and Eunice Carney's 1988 *A Special Gift, The Kutchin Beadwork Tradition* identifies only four named motifs: dog paw, ptarmigan foot, mice running and rat gland (Duncan 1988: 31-32). Additional floral and animal motifs were identified but not "named". Duncan does report the appearance of roses, pansies and forget-me-nots as well as mountain goats, moose, fish, and butterflies (Duncan and Carney 1988: 40), but these are not analyzed in any detail. Rather, many floral patterns are lumped together as "fantasy flowers" (Duncan and Carney 1988: 41).

When asked if her patterns have names, Mrs. Umpherville responded in the negative. She would say "it's a flower" or "it's a design" or most frequently, "its *just* a design" when referring to a motif that was not clearly self evident, but abstract or geometric. When I pointed, for example, to a pattern of a wild rose and asked her what it was called, she looked at me as if I was a slow-witted child and said, "It's a flower, like a rose…". A pattern of a rose is not a rose, it is "like a rose". Consequently, the pattern was not "named' in the sense that I in my culture might name an object.

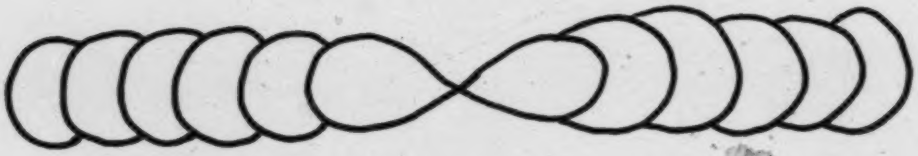
On the other hand, many of her patterns are identified by subject matter. Animals, birds and fish are the easiest. A drawing of a caribou, a beaver, a mallard or an eagle is called just that. Some of the floral designs of roses, wild roses, daffodils, and tulips are identified in a similar manner. These patterns tend to have realistic qualities that the uninitiated eye can identify. Mrs. Umpherville took great pride in making many of her flowers as natural as possible. When we were out picking blueberries, she showed me how colours work together on flowers, leaves, and buds. She made me see colours in the plants that I had never noticed before.

If I asked Mrs. Umpherville if a pattern had meaning, she just said "no". However, as I listened I learned to ask her from where or whom she received the idea for a pattern. This was apparently the correct question because she liked to talk about patterns and their origins. My initial questions regarding pattern classification were answered and I learned the histories of many of the patterns. She gave meaning to the patterns in various ways by providing explanations of their origins, stories about customers, the colours she used, what she was paid for a particular item and/or how she would make the patterns at the time of our conversation. In addition, she would sometimes remember details about the people or place related to a pattern, reminisce about long ago, and comment on her pattern preferences and dislikes.

When we talked about individual patterns she told me what many of them imitated. For example, candies were a source of inspiration. "You know, like candies, Smarties®, all piled up like this." It is not surprising that she used candies as a source of inspiration. She has a bit of a sweet tooth, which was more acute when she was a small child. Her love of candies led her mother and father on a frightening search when she was small.

> I sneak in the store. … My dad was in the store, but years ago the counters, not like today you know. There was candy in the, you know, the wooden barrels. … The loose candies … chocolates and everything and I guess I went there. My dad he didn't see me. He wasn't there. I started eating candies. … I was so full. … I fall asleep there. Dad didn't see me. …And my mom she run to the store, says "Where is she? Where is [she]? Where is Philomene?" My dad says, "I don't know. I don't see him. He didn't come!" Everybody scream. My mom, he say, "I lost her, maybe drowned." And you know, because [of the lake]…maybe I fell…and the bushes here. Nothing. No buildings here. And she run crazy, I guess… Almost all, half a day I was fall asleep. [Laughter] And my dad gave up. He went back to the store. He was looking all over. He found me asleep…He took me home and I threw up the candy…and I went so many times in the store. I guess if I get hungry, I took some cookies and anything I wanted. Because my dad, he was running that store. Oh my God, but I gonna remember. I must be two years, three years old.

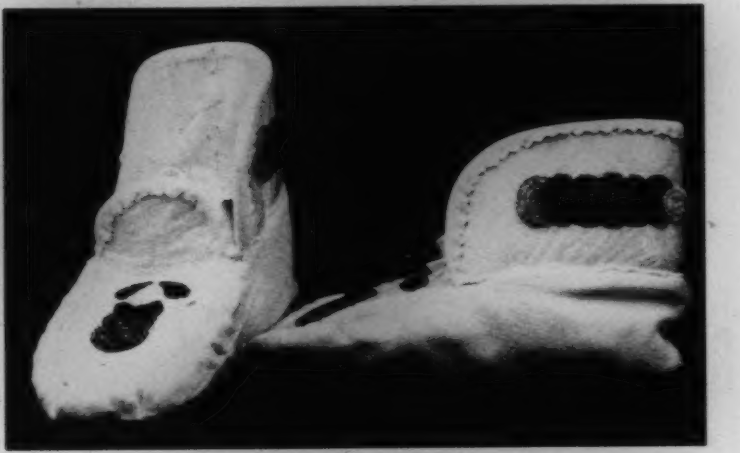
Figure 14.



Pattern #51

Pattern #51 (Figure 14) illustrates an example inspired by lined up Smarties®. The accompanying photograph illustrates a completed pair of infant moccasins using different solid colours. Not all the colours are Smarties® colours, but because the beads are opaque they provide the impression of candies.

Plate 53.



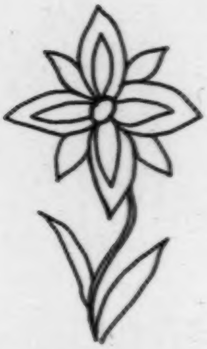
Canoe style moccasins, 1960s-1970s
From the collection of Neilla Premachuk

As the two of us continued to talk about each pattern, I realized that the patterns didn't need names because they often had stories attached to them as identifiers. When and where Mrs. Umpherville got an idea from and/or from whom she received a pattern was more important than assigning it a "name". She not only identified patterns by gender, age, function and even the colours she would use at that particular moment, but gave them meaning through stories about their origins.

In contrast to Duncan's 1989 work, over 160 patterns in Mrs. Umpherville's bead box can be identified and/or traced to their inspirational sources. Those patterns that were given histories represent a significant corpus of data that, while perhaps not unique, is highly unusual in that it has been made accessible to an outsider. Identification of some patterns given to her by family and friends are not self evident to the untrained eye. Some of these are abstract and can be classified as "fantasy flowers", as Kate Duncan calls them. Mrs. Umpherville did not identify specific origins for the majority of her floral patterns, which may also be termed "fantasy flowers". Even so she often used her observations of nature to give them a natural appearance.

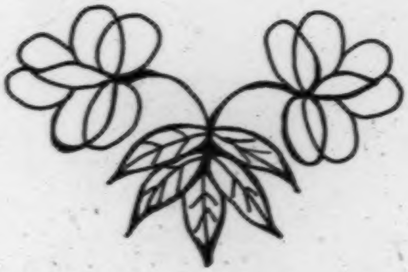
Mrs. Umpherville found inspiration for many of her patterns in the leaves and flowers of her natural environment. Her flowers, for instance, usually have yellow centers. As well she imitates the pointed (laurel) shaped leaves of nature as in Figures 15 and 16. The following table illustrates the number of patterns whose inspiration Mrs. Umpherville attributes to nature. The table includes bird, mammal and fish patterns that were found in her bead box.

Figure 15.



Pattern #64, 50% reduction

Figure 16.



Pattern #253, 50% reduction

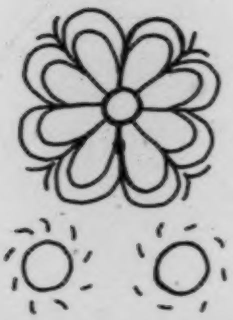
Table 1.

Sources of Inspiration from Nature

Items from nature	Represented Examples
Autumn Leaves	3
Bird	2
Blueberries	1
Caribou Head	1
Caterpillar	1
Eagle	1
Fish	2
Hills & Sunshine	3
Lightening	1
Mallard	2
Mushrooms	6
Prairie Rose	1
Pussy Willows	2
Rose	8
Saskatoon	1
Strawberries	2
Sun	6
Sunflowers	1
Sun Swirl	1
Tiger Lily	1
Tulips	12
Whirlwind	1
Wild Rose	4

In rare instances as in Figure 17, elements from nature may be combined, such as a sun swirl and a flower.

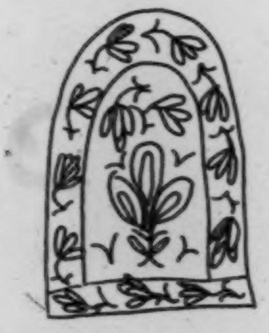
Figure 17.



Pattern #290, 50% reduction

Although Mrs. Umpherville would often dream about her work and the designs she would make, she only once drew a pattern from a dream. Pattern #98 (Figure 18)is a very complicated design for a moccasin vamp. She dreamed of it in about 1968 but never beaded it.

Figure 18.



Pattern #98, 50% Reduction

Much of her work also was inspired by her cultural surroundings, to which the following table attests.

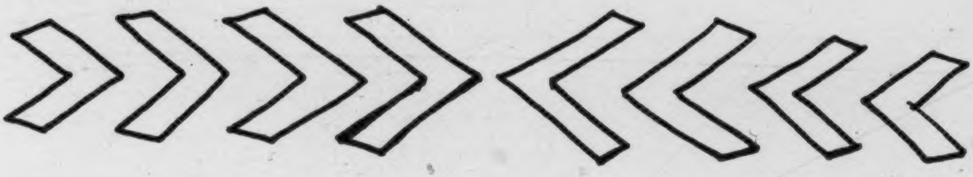
Table 2.

Cultural Sources of Inspiration

Items from the cultural environment	Represented Examples
Axe	1
Buttons	4
Candies	
Jelly Beans	1
Licorice	2
Smarties®	3
Cup (with flower stencil)	1
Dutch Wind Mill	2
Gun	1
Hearts	6
Peace Symbol	1
Pictures (from various books)	
Baby Chick	1
Butterfly	1
Daffodil	1
Ribbons (hanging from a bouquet or for a man's corsage)	2
Snowshoes	1
Table Cloth (North Bay, Ont.)	1
Twisted String or Rope	2
Umbrella	1
Wagon Wheel	1

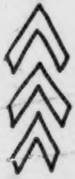
Other patterns, such as pattern #45 (Figure 19) and pattern #47 (Figure 21), she "just thought of". Pattern #45 is for slipper cuffs for two to three year olds. She thought of it as "something different…use candy colours". Each element is to be beaded in a different solid colour using three rows of beads. At the midway point the colours are repeated. Pattern #105 (Figure 20) is similar to Pattern #45 and is for moccasin vamps that can accompany either cuff pattern for about six year old boys and girls.

Figure 19.



Pattern #45

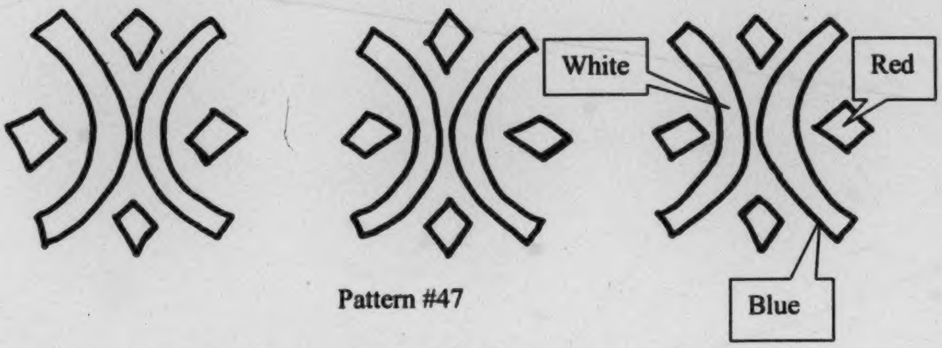
Figure 20.



Pattern #105, 50% reduction

Another pattern that Mrs. Umpherville "just thought of" is #47 (Figure 21). It is also for slipper cuffs but for boys six to seven years old. Suggested colours have been included.

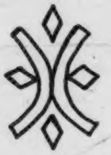
Figure 21.



Pattern #47

Pattern #88 is also small and can be used for slipper vamps, with pattern #47 (Figure 21) used for the cuffs.

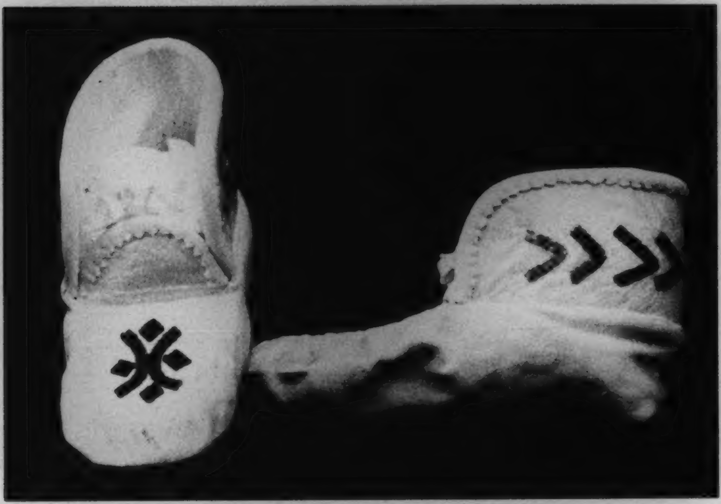
Figure 22.



Pattern #88, 50% reduction

The following photograph (Plate 54) illustrates how Mrs. Umpherville combined patterns #45 (Figure 19) and #88 (Figure 22) on a pair of infant high-cuffed slippers.

Plate 54.



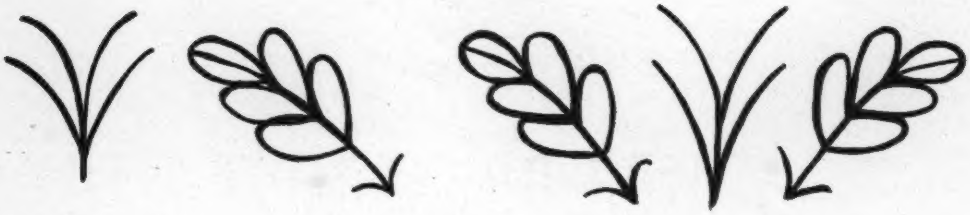
Canoe style moccasins, 1960s-1970s
From the collection of Neilla Premachuk

In the infant pair of slippers she has dropped the central white row of beads in the vamp pattern, probably to adjust for size. She also uses this vamp element in a larger size on men's vamps and on wallets. For adults the four red diamonds have black "spots" (beads) inside. The black color in the center tones down the colors and make the pattern more acceptable for adult tastes.

While the environment, both natural and cultural, is without doubt an important source of Mrs. Umpherville's creativity, perhaps even more important are the people in her life. Her love and sentimentality for the many individuals who traded, gave, and/or made patterns especially for her to use was demonstrated by the many stories the patterns would bring to mind. Some of the stories led us to share tears of sadness and of laughter. Others were scathing and yet others were poignant, reminders of a particular time. The mnemonic value of these patterns for Mrs. Umpherville helped me begin to feel the depth of meaning they held for her. It is some of these patterns and their stories that I have chosen to stress.

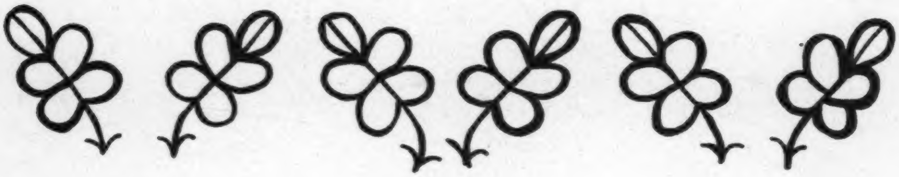
As already discussed, Elise Benoune, who lived her later years in Wollaston, influenced her niece in sewing and beading. She was responsible for pattern #209 (Figure 23), a mukluk upper horizontal band for men. Using the central double "V" element, the pattern must be extended to be complete. Although Mrs. Umpherville did not bead this design very often, she did create pattern #216 (Figure 24) for boys' and girls', age five to six years old, for moccasin vamps. The pattern derives from and compliments pattern #209.

Figure 23.



Pattern #209

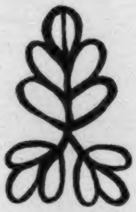
Figure 24.



Pattern #216

Furthermore, pattern #142 (Figure 25) for a vamp accompanies pattern #216 (Figure 24). If it is enlarged it may also be used with pattern #209 (Figure 23).

Figure 25.

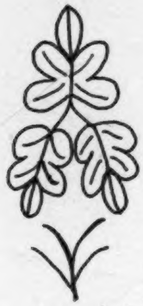


Pattern # 142, 50% reduction

The use of colour is important when comparing these two patterns. The child's pattern calls for alternating leaves of red and blue with green stems; whereas the man's pattern uses a red or bright blue outline of two lines and a black or dark blue infill. Another version of this pattern may be used for women's vamps and short mitts. For women the pattern is made to look like autumn leaves with orange stems. The leaves are outlined with two lines of brown and have yellow beads for the veins in the single leaf and light gold veins in the two smaller ones.

Mukluk fronts and backs beaded for pattern #209 are a combination of a larger pattern and the central element in pattern #209. As a pattern for this piece was not found in her collection of beadwork patterns, I have included a sketch drawn under Mrs. Umpherville's direction from my field notes.

Figure 26.



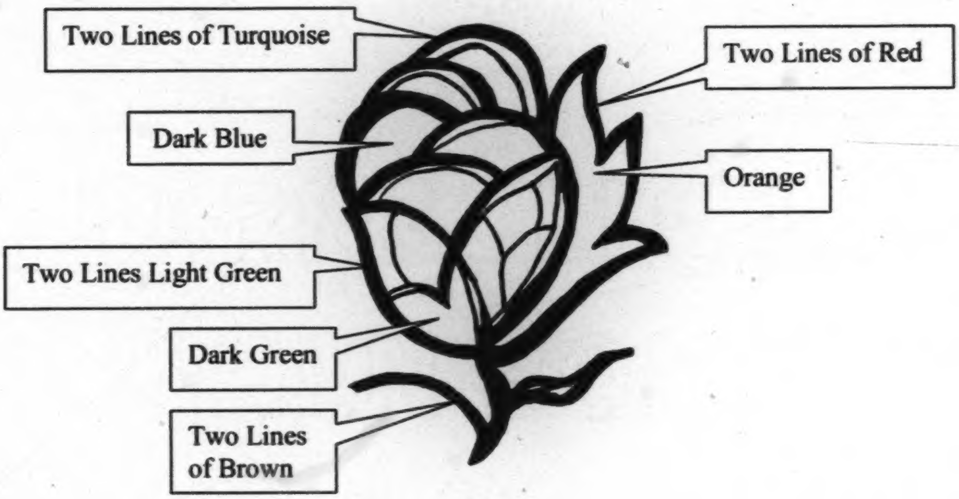
Sketch from Field Notes
March 1993

Mrs. Umpherville's response to patterns chosen by her customers or for the recipients of her beadwork is complex. She considers many variables with a flexibility that may appear deceivingly random at times. Her Auntie Elise may have influenced her flexibility and response to the changing world and varying demands of her customers, friends, and family. In her earlier years Mrs. Benoune did quillwork and silk thread work with horse hair. Unlike Mrs. Umpherville's mother, she also did beadwork. She appears to have beaded both geometric and floral patterns. Mrs. Umpherville received mostly geometric patterns from her Auntie Elise, but she also used floral patterns as already seen in the jacket yoke of Pascal Benoune, Elise's husband.

Mrs. Umpherville also remembered that her aunt made an altar cloth and a pall or cover for the chalice for the St. Pierre du Lac Caribou Mission church before she and her family left Brochet for Plantagenet. Mrs. Benoune did floral beadwork on white caribou hide and lined it with white satin. The altar cloth also had a fringe. Mrs. Umpherville and I tried to locate these pieces, but Brother Oscar believed that they had been burned in the fire that consumed the old mission church. Mrs. Benoune exhibited flexibility and accomplishment in the creation of her art, which Mrs. Umpherville emulated.

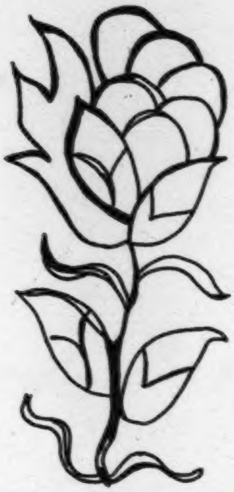
Mrs. Umpherville's immediate family members have provided her with a number of drawings, many of which she has beaded. Her oldest daughter, Audrey, drew nine patterns for her. She never beaded three of them. One was "too small" and another she was "going to try". Both were for the back of women's mittens. The third was not discussed. Of the six patterns that she did bead, three of the patterns may be used together. She likes them very much and has used them many times. For pattern #94 (Figure 27) as follows, Mrs. Umpherville indicated the colours she used. She also stated that this pattern with these colours was to be used for men's vamps. A variation of this design is also included to demonstrate the manner in which Mrs. Umpherville would adapt the patterns for the front of a mukluk by extending the stem and adding leaves.

Figure 27.



Pattern #94, 25% reduction

Figure 28.

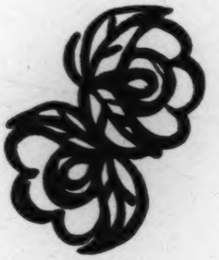


Pattern # 269, 50% reduction

In addition, by using the non-extended pattern at an oblique angle Mrs. Umpherville could create another beading pattern for gauntlet cuffs.

She also liked to bead the three remaining patterns that her daughter drew for her. All are stylized floral motifs. One is for a woman's vamps as follows:

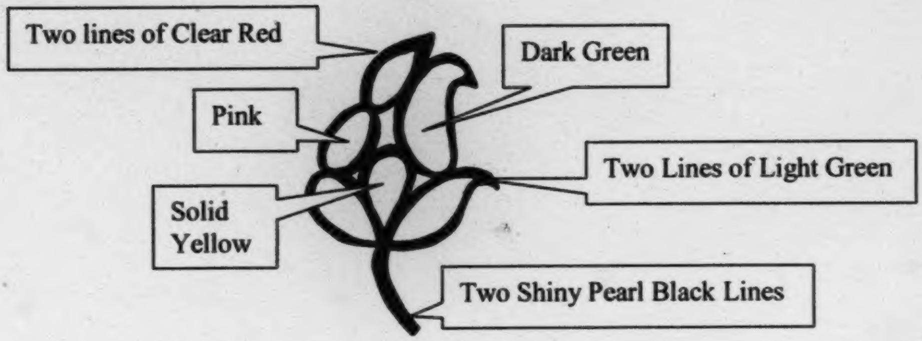
Figure 29.



Pattern #6, 50% reduction

Another is for both men's and women's vamps and gauntlet cuffs. Her preferred colours have been included.

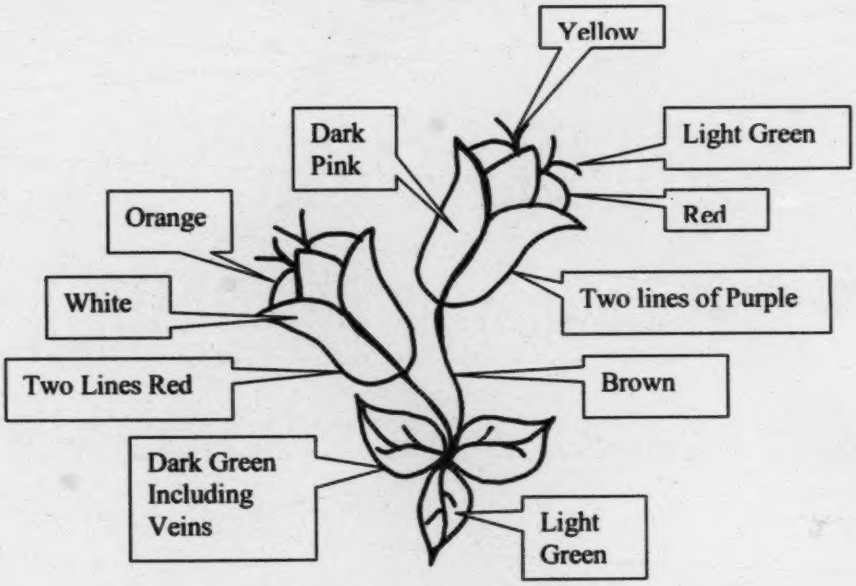
Figure 30.


Two lines of Clear Red
Dark Green
Pink
Two Lines of Light Green
Solid Yellow
Two Shiny Pearl Black Lines

Pattern #197, 50% reduction

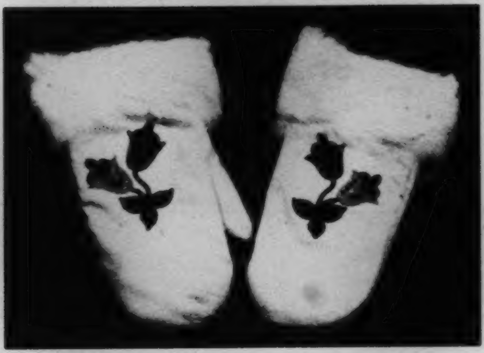
The final pattern, #302 (Figure 31), was used only for ladies mittens. Her suggested colours are included and as a contrast so is a photograph (Plate 55) of a completed pair, executed in somewhat different colours.

Figure 31.


Yellow
Dark Pink
Light Green
Orange
Red
White
Two lines of Purple
Two Lines Red
Brown
Dark Green Including Veins
Light Green

Pattern # 302, 25% reduction

Plate 55.

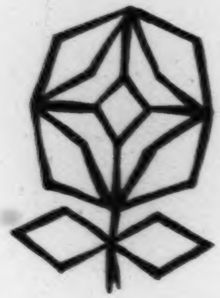


Caribou hide mittens, 1980
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

This was one of eight pairs of mittens and three pairs of slippers made to order for Ann Resnick, who owned a hunting and fishing lodge in northern Saskatchewan. Ms. Resnick was unable to pick up and pay for the order upon the agreed completion date. After giving her a period of grace, Mrs. Umpherville allowed interested teachers and nurses to buy them. She didn't lack for customers and greed was frowned upon. Customers were expected to show restraint so that everyone who wanted to, could buy something.

Mrs. Umpherville's eldest son, Philip, also drew patterns for his mother. He contributed nine individual patterns. On two sheets of paper that Mrs. Umpherville kept as a souvenir, he had drawn twenty-eight additional patterns (three of which also appear as individual patterns). As was the case with his sister, not all of Philip's patterns were used. Philip drew pattern #193 (Figure 32) when he was young. Mrs. Umpherville used this pattern only once on a pair of mukluks.

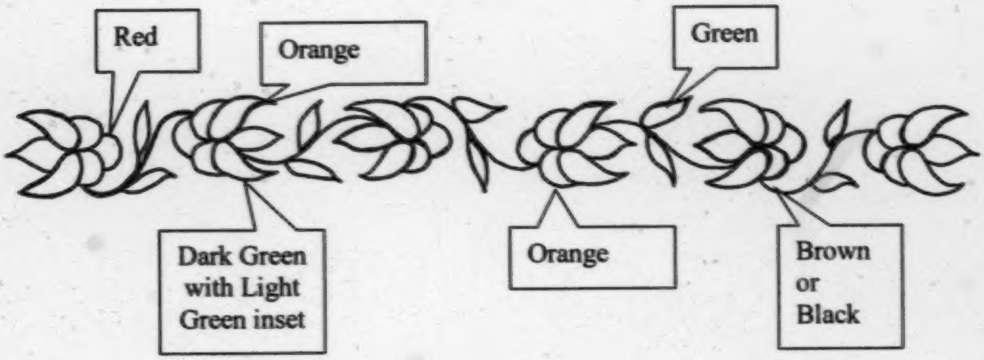
Figure 32.



Pattern #193, 50% reduction

He also drew pattern #221 (Figure 33) and Mrs. Umpherville beaded a belt for him with it around the same time. It is appropriate for belts, guitar straps and for mukluks.

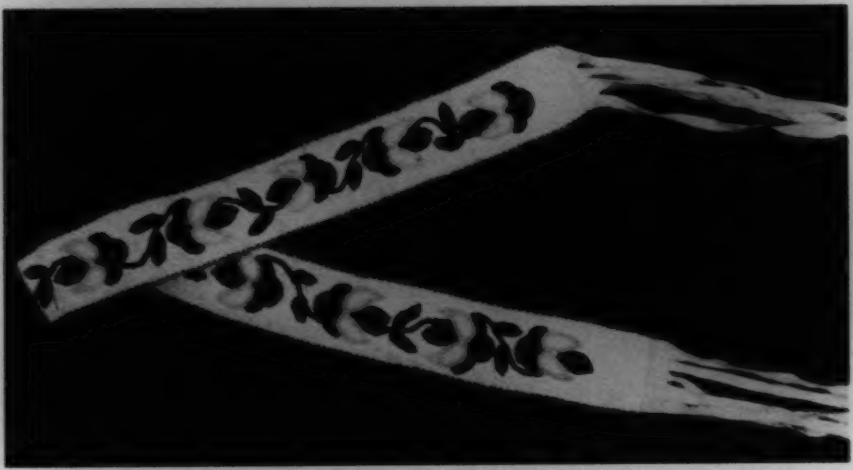
Figure 33.


Red
Orange
Green
Dark Green with Light Green inset
Orange
Brown or Black

Pattern #221 with Mrs. Umpherville's color choices

This pattern is the same one that I selected to learn to bead on leather. I bought split deer hide at the Winnipeg Raw Fur Exchange, as there was little white caribou hide to be had in Brochet at the time. I also selected my own colours. Both of our favorite colours were blue. Despite this, my colour choice was not a choice Mrs. Umpherville would have

Plate 56.



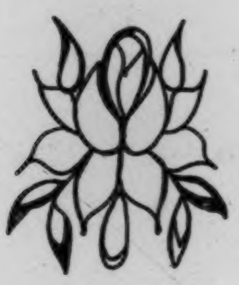
Beaded white caribou belt, 1984
Made by Michelle Tracy and Philomene Umpherville
William and Michelle Tracy Collection

made. Yet, she let me proceed. I began the belt and finished five or six flowers in Brochet. When she came to visit me in Edmonton in 1984, exasperated, she finished it for me. (Plate 56)

In a telephone conversation on August 12, 2002, Philip fondly remembered helping his mother with her orders. He remembers helping her make yarn pompoms. At first he wound the yarn around the cardboard one strand at a time. Later he got smarter and did about ten strands at one time. Everyone thought he was really clever, but they all laughed when he shook the pompom to fluff it out and it fell apart. He hadn't tied it around the middle tightly enough.

Philip's wife Bonnie also contributed a pattern (Figure 34) to her mother-in-law's selection of patterns. This pattern was never beaded.

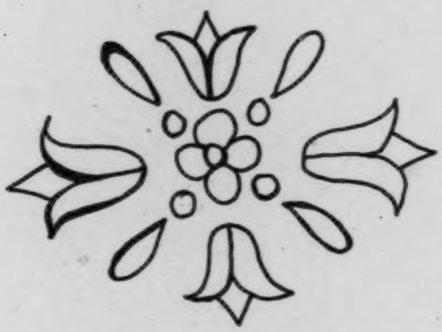
Figure 34.



Pattern # 349, 50% reduction

Tina, her middle daughter, had only the following pattern in the collection of patterns. It also was never beaded.

Figure 35.

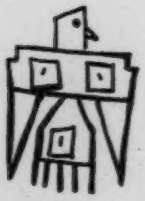


Pattern #251, 50% reduction

Much to her mother's pleasure, Tina has recently become very interested in the whole process of tanning hides and beading.

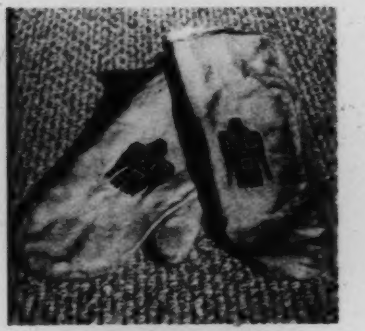
Mrs. Umpherville's youngest son, Clifford, contributed fifteen paper beading patterns, although three were the same with the exception of size. It was a Thunderbird pattern that he had drawn "a long time ago" (from a 1993 interview). (Figure 36) The pattern is for a man's or woman's mitts and gauntlets. She made her daughter-in-law, Sandra, a pair of mittens with this pattern in 1991. (Plate 57) The mitts have sheepskin lining and once had white fur rabbit trim. She sometimes used dark red or blue and yellow as in the photograph of the mittens.

Figure 36.



Pattern # 101, 50% reduction

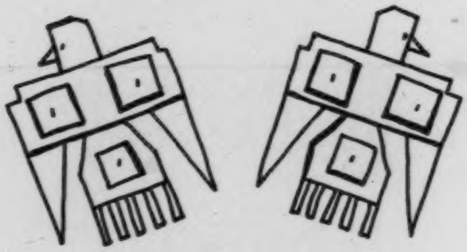
Plate 57.



Thunderbird mitts
Collection of Sandra Umpherville

This design was used on a fourth pattern for gauntlets as follows.

Figure 37.

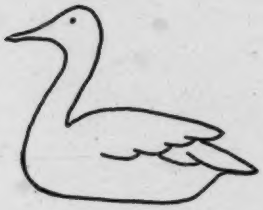


Pattern #247, 50% reduction

Mrs. Umpherville once made a gauntlet and mukluk set using this pattern. She made one thunderbird red and the other blue. Six thunderbirds were used for the mukluk tops. Three thunderbirds faced one direction and the other three faced the opposite direction. The customer was a pilot from Australia. She charged him twenty-five dollars for the mukluks and twenty-five dollars for the gauntlets.

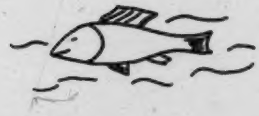
Like his father, Clifford drew animals for Mrs. Umpherville. She admires her son's ability to draw and to shade animals. She feels he really knows how. Only five of these patterns were in her collection. The following are examples of a mallard and a fish in water.

Figure 38.



Pattern #343, 50% reduction

Figure 39.



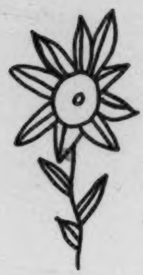
Pattern #341, 50% reduction

Although Clifford drew pattern #343 (Figure 38), Mr. Umpherville explained to her how to shade the mallard.

This is only a fraction of his drawings as many were not kept. He also drew the patterns for items such as his hair ties (Plate 70) and his guitar strap (Plate 75) which are discussed in the following chapter.

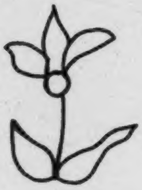
Her youngest daughter, Denise, never learned to bead and has shown little interest until recently. However, she still drew patterns for her mother. When she was 5 years old she drew pattern #90 (Figure 40), which Mrs. Umpherville beaded on slippers for her. Denise drew pattern #97 (Figure 41) when she was ten but her mother never beaded it, simply keeping it as a keepsake. Pattern #189 (Figure 42), depicting cherries, was also never beaded. Pattern 119 (Figure 43) was specifically drawn for "kids" slipper vamps. Very bright yellow beads were used for the center of the flower. Orange beads were used for the inner circle and red beads on the outer petals. The leaves and tendrils were usually light green but were also occasionally beaded with a green outline and an orange inset.

Figure 40.



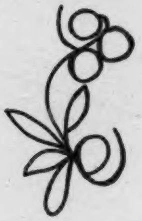
Pattern #90
50% reduction

Figure 41.



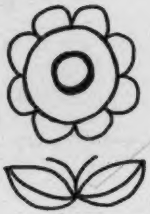
Pattern #97
50% reduction

Figure 42.



Pattern #189
50% reduction

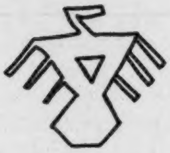
Figure 43.



Pattern #119
50% reduction

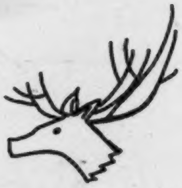
Mr. Umpherville was very proud of his wife's work. As already mentioned, like his son Clifford, he drew animal patterns that Mrs. Umpherville beaded on men's articles. While most of these paper patterns have not survived, two that did are a stylized thunderbird and a caribou head. Someone borrowed a larger version of the caribou head, but never returned it.

Figure 44.



Pattern #337, 50% reduction

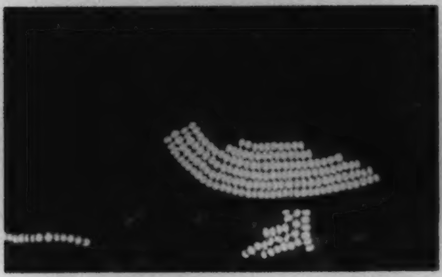
Figure 45.



Pattern #338, 50% reduction

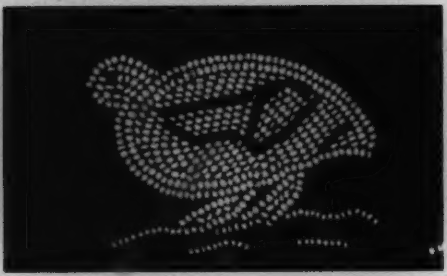
Beadwork on articles associated with hunting was most frequently decorated with animal patterns. The following are close-ups of the beaded ptarmigans on the gun scabbard illustrated in the next chapter "I Make Many Things" (See Plate 82). The ptarmigans show the seasonal change in plumage and are found on opposite sides of the scabbard.

Plate 58.



Ptarmigan in summer plumage
Collection of Herb and Ann Smith[4]

Plate 59.



Ptarmigan in winter plumage
Collection of Herb and Ann Smith

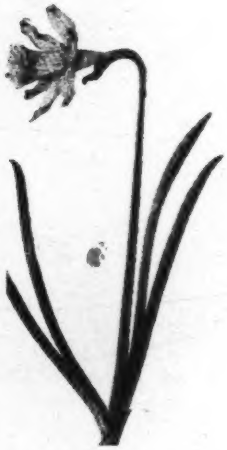
In the winter evenings Mrs. Umpherville would do a little more beading for the day. Mr. Umpherville would often keep her company. They would listen to the radio and sometimes Mr. Umpherville would play the spoons. Although Mrs. Umpherville usually beaded alone, newcomers, teachers like myself or nurses, and old friends from the community would drop in for tea and comradery. During the evening Mr. Umpherville would have to leave and check the power station. If everything were all right he would soon be back bringing in the fresh cold air and another story.

Further, he supported Mrs. Umpherville when she felt too tired to continue beading at the pace that Mrs. Premachuk set. He encouraged her to quit. He felt that they could manage somehow, but Mrs. Umpherville felt that their financial situation was such that she couldn't afford to. He was not the most successful of trappers and money was scarce.

He was an avid reader, and as a loving gesture he gave his wife a book of flowers, Richard L. Schellel's *ABC's of Nature: A Family Answer Book* (1984, Pleasantville, New York: Reader's Digest Association). He ordered it especially for her. This book was a very good resource for her. She used the picture of acorns on page 97 (which did not appear in the collection of patterns in her bead box) and page 102 helped her with colored leaves. Page 149 helped her create pattern #167 (Figure 46) of a daffodil.

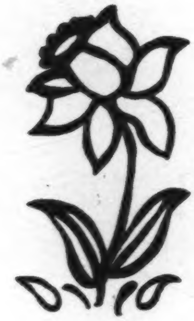
The daffodil was intended to be used on both mukluks and slippers. However, someone borrowed her pattern of daffodils for the upper portion of mukluks and did not return it. One person for whom she used this pattern was Mrs. Rene Garbet. She also beaded a pair of mirror image daffodils on white caribou hide, which she framed and gave me as a gift.

Plate 60.



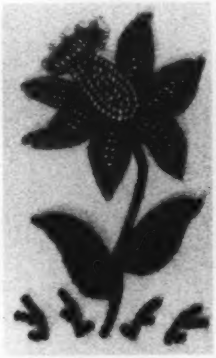
Scheffel (1984: 149)

Figure 46.



Pattern #167
50% reduction

Plate 61.



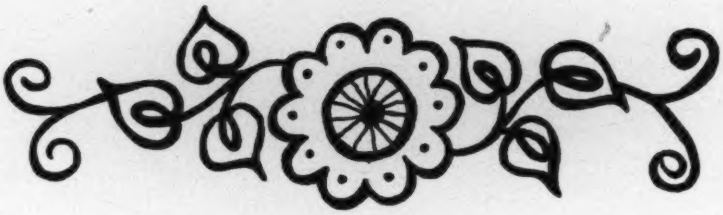
Collection of William
and Michelle Tracy,
1986

Mrs. Umpherville frequently used more than one source for her ideas and experimented to change her patterns. In some instances, she altered her patterns simply for the sake of change and in others she strove to improve some aspect of them.

Friends in the community have also provided patterns over the years. Emily Merasty gave her thirteen patterns. Two of these are illustrated here, patterns #11 (Figure

47) and #21 (Figure 48). Pattern 11 is a mukluk top for men. It is only for men because the central flower is too large for women's mukluks.

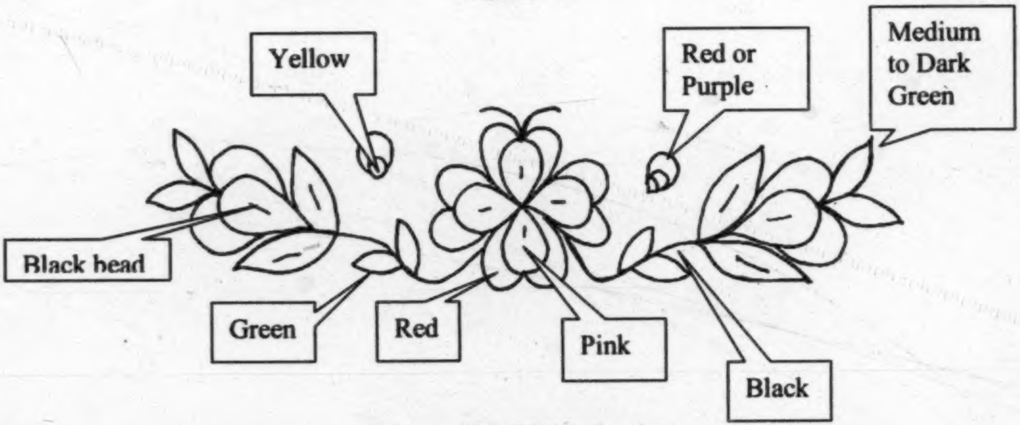
Figure 47.



Pattern #11, 50% reduction

She also gave her pattern #21 around 1963. It is for moccasin uppers for both men and women. Mrs. Umpherville has only used this pattern twice. The following pattern shows Mrs. Umpherville's colour choices for female recipients. For males, the pink and red are replaced with turquoise and blue respectively.

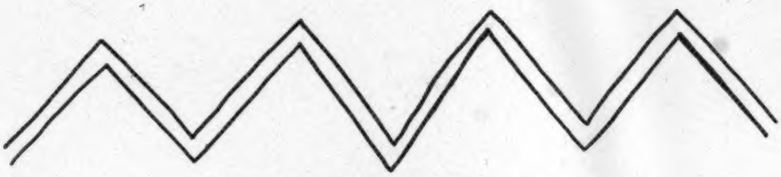
Figure 48.



Pattern #21, 50% reduction

Mrs. Umpherville acquired the idea for pattern #26a (Figure 49) from Ann Michel, a Brochet friend. She saw the pattern on a small pair of mukluks in Mrs. Premachuk's trading post and adapted it for large mukluks, moccasin cuffs, and vamps.

Figure 49.

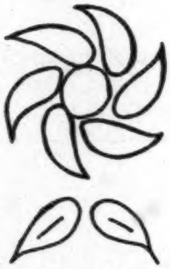


Pattern #26a, 50% reduction

The significance of this act lies in the fact that Mrs. Umpherville has always maintained that you should not copy another woman's pattern without asking permission first. There is no formalized social sanction against it; it is simply considered improper behavior. Yet in this instance, borrowing a pattern may have been acceptable, at least in Mrs. Umpherville's eyes, because she altered it. The alteration was related to size, but in other circumstances alterations in colour appear to be sufficient to consider the pattern an independent creation.

Mrs. Premachuk's trading post provided many opportunities for Mrs. Umpherville to view the work of others. She saw pattern #128 (Figure 50) at Mrs. Premachuk's on a pair of slippers sold either by Helen Cook or Agnes McCullum. According to Mrs. Umpherville it is "just like a whirlwind. Lakes, leaves, and dirt. Lots in Brochet."

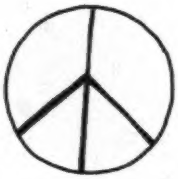
Figure 50.



Pattern #128, 50% reduction

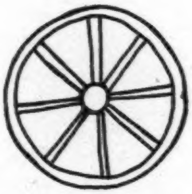
Mrs. Premachuk herself contributed a peace symbol (Figure 51). It was, however, never beaded as Mrs. Umpherville found it "ugly". Mrs. Premachuk also gave her pattern #339 (Figure 52) for a wagon wheel, which Mrs. Umpherville beaded for her.

Figure 51.



Pattern #81, 50% reduction

Figure 52.

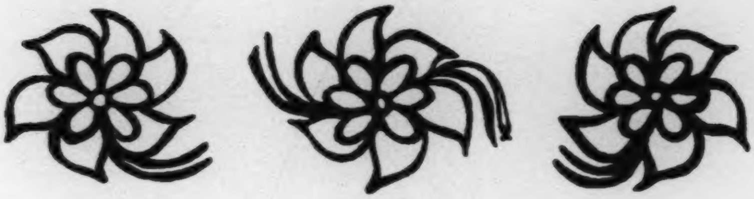


Pattern #339 (Wagon Wheel)

Mrs. Premachuk and Mrs. Umpherville developed a deep bond of friendship that has weathered Mrs. Premachuk's retirement to The Pas. While in Brochet. Mrs. Premachuk commissioned several women to sew and bead items such as moccasins, mukluks, and jackets for resale outside of Brochet. Mrs. Umpherville worked very hard to produce as much as Mrs. Premachuk wanted. Once, Mrs. Premachuk bought so many hides to sew into garments that Mrs. Umpherville did not have any time to rest between caring for her family and sewing for Mrs. Premachuk. She was so tired that she became careless and pierced her finger with a Glover's needle. "Blood spurted everywhere. I had to go to the nursing station." Even though this happened many years ago, Mrs. Umpherville is still angry at herself for working so hard and at her friend for making her do it.

Mrs. Premachuk's niece provided pattern #17 (Figure 53), which she has done in cross-stitch on velvet. Although Mrs. Umpherville has used this pattern to bead slipper cuffs for women, she commented, "This one hard to bead". Sometimes she beads all the flowers the in the same colours and at other times she alternates colours.

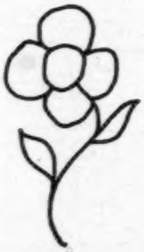
Figure 53.



Pattern #17, 50% reduction

Women were not the only source of patterns. As is the case within her immediate family, other male members of the community also contributed to Mrs. Umpherville's stock of patterns. Robert Franker, from The Pas, husband of Viola Merasty's daughter from Brochet, drew three patterns for her. Again, as with patterns contributed by family members, patterns kept were not necessarily patterns beaded; some were kept as souvenirs. Mr. Franker's pattern #110 was beaded only once on a child's pair of moccasins.

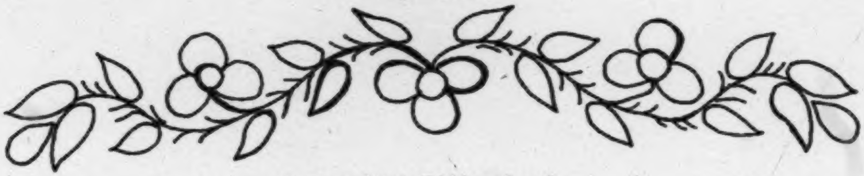
Figure 54.



Pattern #110, 50% reduction

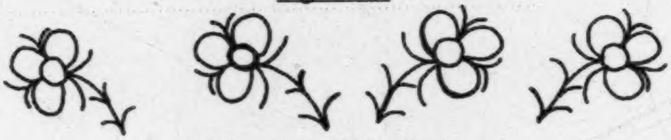
As previously discussed, patterns regularly go through an evolutionary process of change. Mrs. Angelique Linklater permitted Mrs. Umpherville to copy pattern #14 (Figure 55), which she beaded onto a pair of slippers that she sold to Mrs. Premachuk. Later Mrs. Umpherville adapted this design to a simpler design, #13 (Figure 56), where red flowers alternated with pink ones. The flower petals have two rows of red or pink beads. Depending upon the size of the pattern, there was sometimes room for a few white beads within the yellow center. Medium green tendrils were added to the flower and the leaves and curling line were dropped.

Figure 55.



Pattern #14, 50% reduction

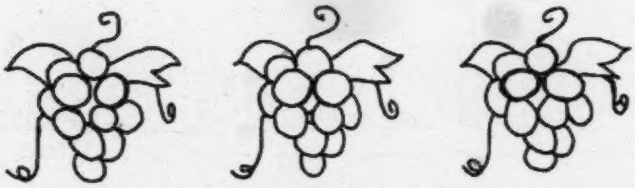
Figure 56.



Pattern #13, 50% reduction

Patterns could be traded as well as given. In 1973 Mrs. Umpherville traded with her friend Gisele Morin, a woman from the community and a school teacher, for a pattern of grapes. (Figure 57) This grape pattern appears two more times in her collection of beading patterns.

Figure 57.

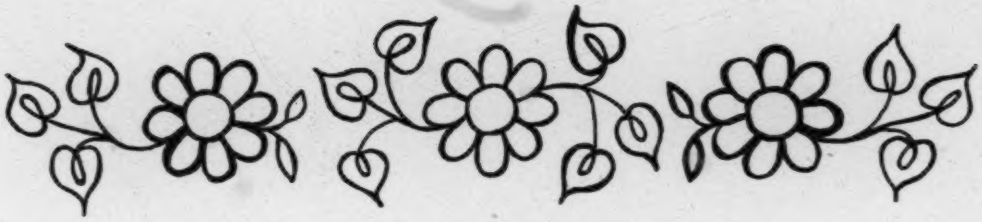


Pattern #19, 50% reduction

A single grape design was used for the vamp and several were repeated as needed around the upper band of a pair of mukluks.

In addition, Giselle also gave Mrs. Umphervillethe floral patterns # 136 (Figure 59) and # 231 (Figure 58) used on a pair of mukluks and gauntlets she made for me in 1979. (Plate 62) As with all her patterns, Mrs. Umpherville adjusted it to fit her sense of

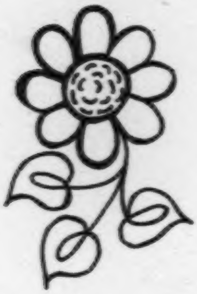
Figure 58.



Pattern #231, 50% reduction

the "canvas" and of her customer's taste. She adjusted the pattern by extending the tendrils on the top and the leaves and tendrils on the front and back vertical panels of the mukluks. I left the pattern choice and colours up to her, but she knew that I loved flowers, blues and, like her, clear and iridescent beads. She chose a woman's pattern on which she usually used reds and pinks. For me she used blue as well, which suited my preferences. She created the illusion of blue, where she outlined the flower in an opalescent red and filed it with a clear purple lined bead, on the inside leg of the mukluk top. This combination is very striking as it shifts to give impressions of red or blue. When I picked up the mukluks, she wanted me to notice how she balanced the red and blue flowers on the vamp, the front and back vertical panels, and along the horizontal band of the mukluk top. Furthermore, she made this pair of mukluks special by changing the vamp that she usually used (Figure 59) to one that used solid beading. Mrs. Umpherville believes this to be more reflective of a Cree style of beading than a Chipewyan style. This deviation is indeed very special as it is only one of two pairs of mukluks for which she beaded a solid vamp. As a rule, Mrs. Umpherville's vamps do not have a solid white beaded background but often use an exposed white caribou hide background. As previously discussed, there was a shortage of caribou hides at that time. According to Mrs. Umpherville the white

Figure 59.



Pattern #136, 50% reduction

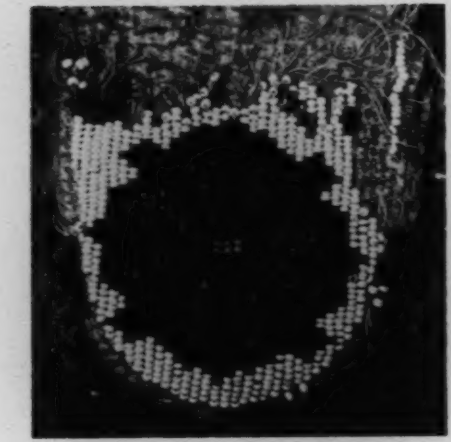
beads mimic white caribou hide and the triangular design that frames the vamps is like the quillwork that as a child she watched her mother and Auntie Elise do.

Plate 62.

Woman's mukluks, 1979
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

Mrs. Umpherville got the idea for the vamps from an old vamp that Mrs. Rosalie Michel was ripping apart for the beads. She asked Mrs. Michel to give it to her.

Plate 63.



Vamp by Rosalie Michel, n.d.

The beadwork was attached to the leather using a couched stitch and in straight lines. It was of a geometric flower. When Mrs. Umpherville beaded the vamps for my mukluks, she used the same method and style, but created a new pattern by changing the single design element of the older model to two smaller elements. Earlier that winter she had made another pair of mukluks with a solid beaded vamp for Art Merasty, a friend of my husband.

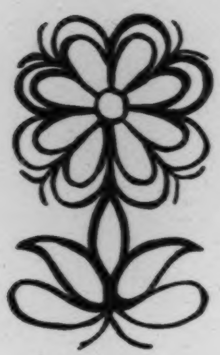
Plate 64.

Bill Tracy and Art Merasty, 1979

Art decided he wanted to sell the mukluks, and my husband bought them. (Plates 47 and 64) The fact that Art would sell the mukluks upset Mrs. Umpherville. They were made especially for Art whom she thought well of, and she was hurt that he sold them. She didn't, however, hold any ill will against my husband for buying them. Instead, she made him a pair of matching gauntlets, so that he could have a set as well as myself.

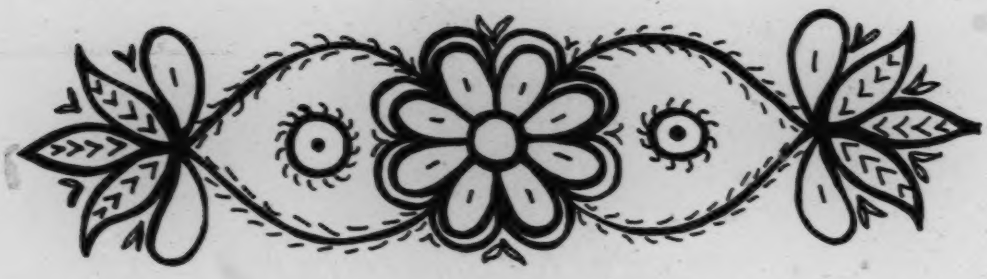
The single geometric rose-like pattern on my husband's mukluks is closer to the inspirational vamp than mine, but my design elements are closer to the actual size of the original. Mrs. Umpherville responded to the size of her canvas (vamp) by altering the pattern. Both the vamp that she usually used, pattern #186 (Figure 60), and the horizontal top panel of the mukluk, pattern #210 (Figure 61), have been included.

Figure 60.



Pattern #186, 50% reduction

Figure 61.



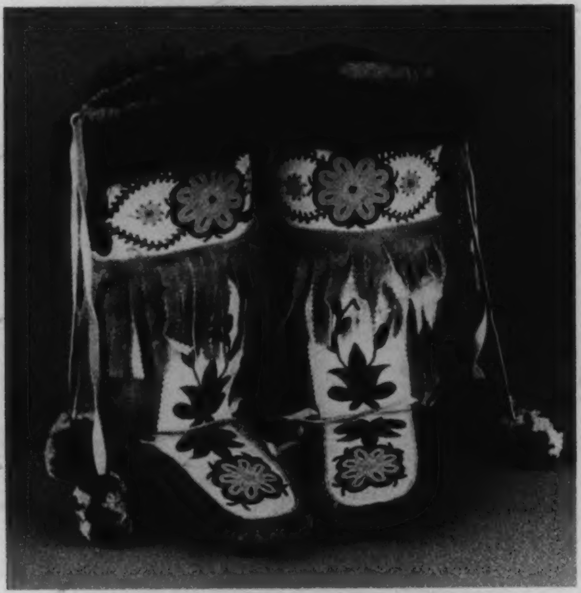
Horizontal Top Panel Pattern # 210

The patterns for the mukluk front and back vertical leg panels and for the back of the hand of the mittens were not found within the paper pattern collection; however, they derive from the isolated and altered elements at each end of the mukluk horizontal leg pattern. Mrs. Umpherville explained the pattern on my husband's mukluks and gauntlets. In February of 1993 when we were walking through the bush, she told me about "shading" and how this flower was like a bud. It had the light green little leaves and the golden brown outer shell from which green leaves opened up. The closest I can equate this to is time-lapse photography, but in bead-work.

This pair of mukluks and gauntlets was part of a small exhibit at the University of Alberta Human Ecology Department. It complemented a new program, Aboriginal Capacity and Development Research Environments (ACADRE). This floral design was selected by ACADRE as their logo. As this organization helps people of Native background from across Canada with health research and training, Mrs. Umpherville and I were pleased to have had it chosen.

Patterns #186 and #210 were also used to make two more pairs of mukluks that are found in two museum collections. The first was collected on February 27, 1968 by James G. E. Smith for the Canadian Museum of Civilization. (Plate 65)

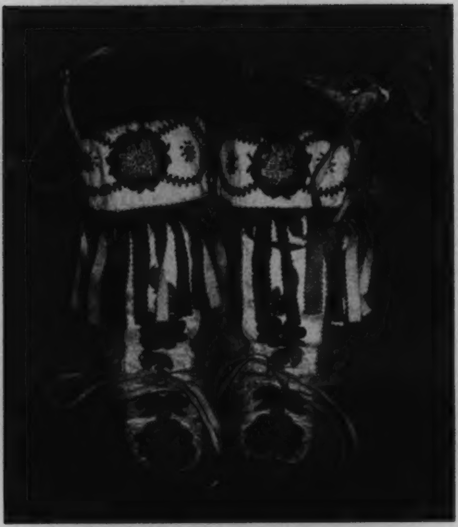
Plate 65.



Caribou hide beaded mukluks, 1968
Canadian Museum of Civilization
Catalogue # III-DD-40a,b

The second was made for a young female teacher around 1969 and was later donated to the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. (Plate 66)

Plate 66.



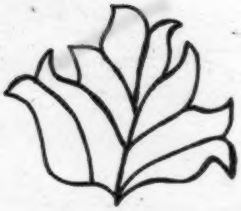
Woman's caribou hide mukluks, ca 1969
Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature
Catalogue # H4-0595

Both of these earlier pairs were beaded on white caribou hide and had the clear plastic protective sheet left on them. Mrs. Umpherville beaded essentially the same pattern on all three pairs of mukluks (Plates 47, 65 and 66), although colour choice and selection of front vertical leg panels are different. Even the two pairs made for her male customers have different versions of the same pattern. I do not know if the floral front vertical leg panel was considered more appropriate for her female customer because the bud element that she used for the men's mukluks may be used for both men and women.

It is interesting to note that Mrs. Umpherville's bead box contains only two patterns from Dorothy Inglis. Dorothy would often come and visit Mr. and Mrs. Umpherville in the evenings and play cribbage with Mr. Umpherville as Mrs. Umpherville beaded. During this time Dorothy became more interested in beading and would often watch and learn from Mrs. Umpherville. She would also ask her mother

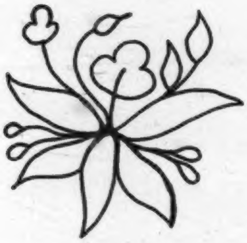
Marie Adele Merasty for guidance. Even though she was a relatively new beader, with their assistance and her ingenuity she took on projects such as a beaded vest, a cape, a moss bag and even caribou shank knife sheaths with beaded edges and beaded fringe. As an example, at least three of the flowers on the vest she made came from Mrs. Umpherville's patterns; however, their colours and composition are hers. In addition, Dorothy discussed the shading of autumn leaves with Mrs. Umpherville. During this time Dorothy learned much and developed a reputation of being a very good beader. She had the ability and imagination to make something unique out of pre-existing patterns and their elements. It is therefore even more curious that Mrs. Umpherville never beaded either of Dorothy's patterns. Of pattern #154 (Figure 62) she says that she doesn't like it and "doesn't know the colours". Similarly of pattern #286 (Figure 63) she says, "Too many small things in there. I don't know how to colour this". These comments suggest that she believes that there is a correct manner to colour a given pattern and that it is not necessarily obvious even to the trained eye. This is despite the fact that she will and has altered the colours of a pattern, thereby creating something new. This suggests that the creation of something new may presuppose a detailed knowledge of the original piece on which it is based or of an overall aesthetic.

Figure 62.



Pattern #154, 50% reduction

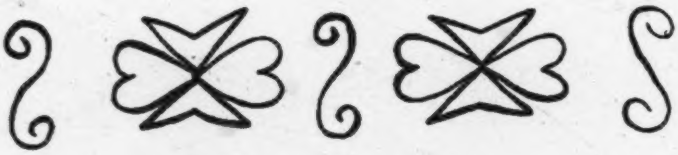
Figure 63.



Pattern #286, 50% reduction

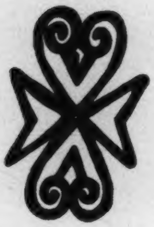
Transient members of the community, such as teachers, sometimes provided very specific input into their own orders for Mrs. Umpherville's work. Robert St. Onge, for instance, who taught at Brochet from 1978 to1980, ordered a pair of mukluks from Mrs. Umpherville during his second year in residence. Although he liked pattern #10 (Figure 64), which was appropriate for both men and women, he felt that the red, pink and blue colours of the original design were too feminine. He also felt that the heart and bow shape should be refashioned. The heart and bow elements of the resulting pattern #5 (Figure 65) were realigned on a vertical axis and executed with black beads outlined by a single row of white beads. Although Mrs. Umpherville only beaded this pattern for St. Onge, it made an impact on her and she remembers it very well.

Figure 64.



Pattern #10, 50% reduction

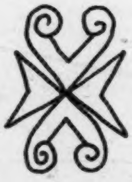
Figure 65.



Pattern #5, 50% reduction

Interestingly enough, yet a third pattern "evolved" from this pair. In it Mrs. Umpherville has broadened the heart or curled element and allowed for a greater space between them. The black interior with the white outline has been retained but the bows have been returned to blue with no outline. Mrs. Umpherville considers this design similar but unrelated to #10 and #5.

Figure 66.

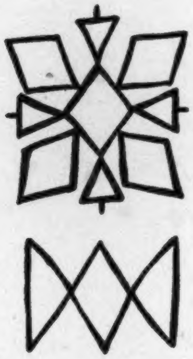


Pattern #117, 50% reduction

This again illustrates, at least from my perspective, the differential phenomenological perspective shared by Mrs. Umpherville and myself, for I see these three patterns as definitely related.

Another customer drew pattern #165 (Figure 67) for a pair of mukluks she beaded. He even instructed her on the colors to use. This approach is similar to, but apparently less memorable than the approach taken by Mr. St. Onge, for she neither remembers his name nor did she ever make that pattern again.

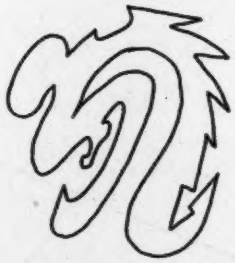
Figure 67.



Pattern #165, 50% reduction

Another teacher, Jean Cruise, drew pattern #80 (Figure 68) for her husband's vamps. It depicts a caterpillar found in tree bark around Brochet in the summer. It feeds on tree sap. This very non-traditional pattern is illustrative of Mrs. Umpherville's willingness to please her customers. Although the design would likely never be used again, she nevertheless "archived it" in her bead box as part of her repertoire, as a souvenir of the teacher and of what she had beaded.

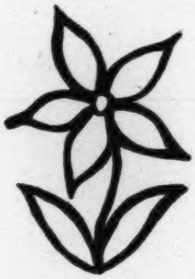
Figure 68.



Pattern #80, 50% reduction

Sister Leah, the Roman Catholic nun who was in residence at the St. Pierre du Lac Caribou Mission when I was there, gave Mrs. Umpherville pattern #127 (Figure 69), a lily-like flower.

Figure 69.

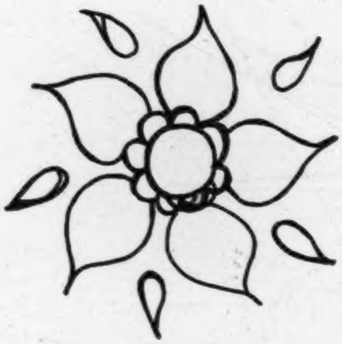


Pattern #127, 50% reduction

When Sister Leah, Father Darveau and Brother Oscar were at the Mission, Mrs. Umpherville would often receive orders from them so that they would have something unique to give to their families when they “went out”.

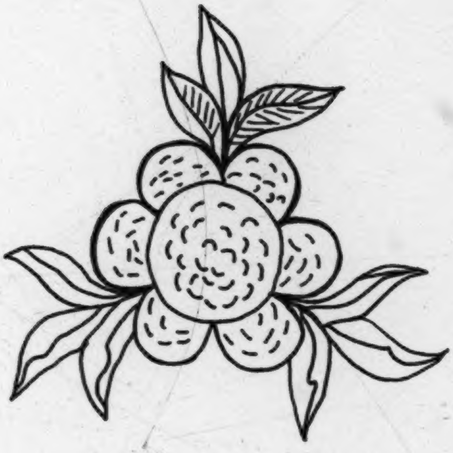
Friends and acquaintances outside the community also provided sources of patterns and inspiration. Mrs. Marianne Hanson from Wollaston Lake, Saskatchewan provided patterns #246 (Figure 70) and #255 (Figure 71), both for men’s gauntlets. Mrs. Hanson was regarded as a very good beader. She died tragically in a car accident in La Ronge, Saskatchewan around 1973.

Figure 70.



Pattern #246, 50% reduction

Figure 71.

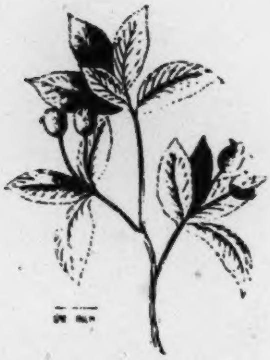


Pattern #255, 50% reduction

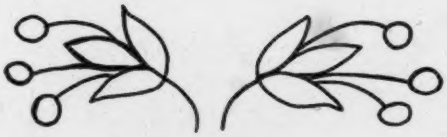
Robert Brightman, then an anthropology graduate student from the University of Chicago and now teaching at Reed College in Portland, Oregon, lived in Brochet in 1979. Mrs. Umpherville said of him, “He lived with Henry Linklater for a year … like an Indian. I made lots for him.” In return, Brightman gave Mrs. Umpherville a copy of Dianne Beaven’s (1976) *Some Edible and Poisonous Berries Common to Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan*. She adapted the line drawings in the pamphlet for poison ivy (p. 4), Virginia creeper (p. 5), baked apple (p. 7), bear berries (p. 8), crab apples (p. 9), current (p. 9), Oregon apple (p. 13), Saskatoon (p. 15), and sumac (p. 16) for her beading patterns. The following line drawing from the pamphlet exemplifies her adaptations:

Figure 72.

Saskatoon Berries



Beaven (1976: 15)



Pattern #40
50% reduction

Drawing the Beading Pattern

A beading pattern is a single piece of paper on which a floral, anthropomorphic or geometric design is drawn, usually in pencil. The paper may be in the shape of the piece of the garment for which it is intended, such as a moccasin vamp, but often is not. In redrawing these patterns to illustrate this thesis I have attempted to recreate the lines as they were originally drawn by Mrs. Umpherville and others. That is, the lines are uneven and not of uniform thickness.

While redrawing Mrs. Umpherville's patterns, I discovered that many of them could be re-created without lifting my pen from the paper. Loops crossed themselves and curls gently responded to the drawing hand as flowers and leaves were created. I then remembered sitting in Mrs. Umpherville's kitchen in the fall of 1979 trying to draw simple pictures using this method and playing Hangman with Mr. Umpherville. Some of these patterns may have been drawn employing a popular nineteenth century pass-time in which the drawer would attempt to create a picture or a design without lifting his pencil or pen from the paper and without retracing any lines. Examination of her original patterns revealed lines in the pattern that are much heavier than any of its fellows. These lines are explained by the fact that unlike the original game, Mrs. Umpherville would retrace lines in her effort to complete or darken the pattern without lifting her pencil. The patterns were reused until the outline of the design would begin to pop out of the paper. It would then be transferred as needed to another piece of paper.

Based on the age and gender of the beadwork recipient, Mrs. Umpherville would determine if a pattern is appropriate for particular garment pieces when she considered the size of the pattern, the elements of the pattern, and the colours. For example, a pattern primarily intended for a woman's slipper vamp might in some cases also be appropriate for a lady's pair of mittens. Similarly, a small woman might have her beadwork done from a pattern that could also be used for a child of twelve or fourteen.

Patterns are often altered to create new ones, acting as a guide rather than a rigid template. When appropriate they can be reduced or enlarged to fit the artist's canvas (garment piece). They may have elements added, deleted, or altered to create new, independent patterns. Sometimes Mrs. Umpherville recognizes the connection and the process she used in the creation of the new patterns. At other times she does not. She credits instead spontaneous inspiration, "I just thought of it". When similar patterns are placed side by side, she will sometimes admit to similarity but not to sameness. Patterns whose images are the same but of different sizes are recognized as the same but different because, for example, one can only be used for a young boy while the other can only be used for an adult man.

As with her beading techniques, Mrs. Umpherville has outdone many of her contemporaries with her box of patterns. Her collection of paper beading patterns numbered 345 when she allowed me to duplicate them on the school Gestetner thermal copier in 1980.[5] Further, although Kate Duncan's (1989: 68) research has found that "the presence and the precision of repeated forms on many old specimens indicate that the patterns have long been common", Mrs. Umpherville's collection of patterns testifies to the longevity of some within her personal repertoire. Some of her patterns were handed down from her Auntie Elsie Benoune, which would give them a pedigree from at least the early twentieth century.[6] Still others find similar expression in painted caribou hunting coats of the early 19th century. While it is not possible to trace a direct family line of descent from these painted patterns to Mrs. Umpherville, who can no longer always remember from whom or from where she received them, it does nevertheless suggest a long and tenacious artistic tradition whose most current manifestation finds itself in the beadwork of Mrs. Umpherville.

There are a number of techniques for transferring a pattern onto the leather or fabric that is to be beaded. Kate Duncan (1989: 68, 197) has noted that one technique involves placing a paper pattern onto the material that is to be beaded and then beading directly through the paper. The paper around the edge of the beadwork is pulled away with tweezers once the beading is complete. This technique, while rare among the Athapaskans, is common in certain Cree and Cree/Métis communities.[7] Mrs. Umpherville was shown this technique by Rosalie Merasty when she first began to bead. However, she eventually gave it up the because it "takes too much time to take paper off after". It was also occasionally used by Dorothy Inglis, with whom Mrs. Umpherville sometimes beaded. She, like the Athapaskans, tends to use it for larger motifs, perhaps as Duncan (1989:197) suggests, to lend stability.

Some beadworkers draw their patterns directly on light colored fabrics and hides using pencil, ink or charcoal. On earlier work red ink was common. I have seen contemporary examples of this in Brochet. Other people use a mixture of flour and water applied with a stick, white ink, or occasionally a running stitch with white thread on a dark background. In the early 1970s beadworkers in the Fairbanks, Alaska area expressed a desire for iron-on patterns (Duncan 1989: 68).

Mrs. Umpherville remembers her grandmother, her mother, and her Auntie Elise drawing their patterns directly on the home tanned leather to be quilled and/or embroidered. They crushed low bush cranberries for their juice in a cup and used a duck quill to draw floral and geometric patterns. Excess juice was kept in a small bottle to be used for the next project.

Mrs. Umpherville's longtime preference for transferring a pattern to a beading surface was to draw the pattern on a piece of paper with a pencil, or sometimes a pen. The general shape of the paper on which the beading pattern was drawn often reflected the shape of the corresponding pattern used for cutting the leather. Notches were cut in the same places and matched. The drawing was then laid carbon side down on the leather or fabric and rubbed vigorously with the back of a spoon, thereby transferring the pattern. When required the outline could be darkened freehand with a pencil. Where a mirror image of a pattern was required such as with a pair of vamps, the first vamp once beaded would be placed face down on the second one and rubbed or pressed. This created an impression of the beads, which was emphasized with pencil. When the design being drawn was symmetrical, half of the paper pattern could be darkened, folded over and rubbed. A light transfer was thus created for the other half of the pattern and was then darkened with pencil. To prevent smudging, Mrs. Umpherville kept the white un-smoked caribou hide clean while she was beading by adding a layer of plastic wrap and beading through the plastic. This may or may not be removed later with tweezers by the purchaser.

Pattern Classifications

Mrs. Umpherville has a set of ideal criteria that she follows as a guide rather than as a rigid set of rules. These criteria are organic. They respond to her needs of the moment and are anchored in a cultural as well as environmental context. They are not dismissed nor are they non-existent. They form the basis for Mrs. Umpherville's classification of her patterns. This classification poses very real cross-cultural difficulties for the researcher because of the often-intangible nature of her criteria. As a researcher it has been difficult to find words to explain the flexibility within her cognitive framework. However, as a friend and a person learning to bead, I fell into a rhythm of watching, listening, doing and laughing that did not require many words.

Although Mrs. Umpherville has expressed the position that each pattern is entirely unique and unrelated to any other, a close examination of this mind set over a number of years suggests that this is too broad and simplistic an statement. By way of example, when shown several series of three patterns which to my Western trained mind are without question closely related, and even related in a evolutionary manner proceeding from simple to more complex or vice-versa, I have been told that there is no relationship between the patterns; each is unique. However, with other patterns she will freely explain how she has created a new pattern by adding or subtracting elements from a previous design as in the case of the previously discussed pattern from Mrs. Linklater.

I believe that each pattern exists in two realities. In the first reality each pattern is unique; a particular floral element using a selected palate of colours was beaded on a particular garment for a specified individual. In the second reality some, although not all, of the patterns may be related to each other in a developmental sense with Mrs. Umpherville, or perhaps others, altering one unique pattern to create another.

Mrs. Umpherville groups her patterns according to gender, age, and function applications. Patterns grouped by gender are divided into male and female sets with a third overlapping set that may be either male or female. The assignation of the gender of this third set may be determined by the colors employed or in other cases (such as with a grape pattern) it may be applied without alteration to either men's or women's garments. Both the male and female sets contain smaller subsets for boys and girls. In addition, another subset of patterns exists for infants and younger children.

Patterns are also grouped by function application. Some are for very specific components of the various items she made. For example, certain patterns were used only for mukluk tops, mukluk fronts, moccasin cuffs, vamps, or for gauntlets. In other cases, the patterns have a dual function such as when Mrs. Umpherville used an unaltered pattern for moccasin vamps for mitten backs.

In addition, colour is also a fundamental characteristic that may override form in the determination of gender application. Mrs. Umpherville provided the information displayed on the following table in an interview held in 1993 in Brochet.

Table 3.

Color/Gender Correlations

Prior to 1983		
Male	**Female**	**Neutral**
Red	Blue	Red
Yellow/Orange	Light Blue	Blue
Beige	Turquoise	Green
Grey		Combinations
Green		Yellow
		Orange

Post 1983		
Male	**Female**	**Neutral**
Blue	Red	Red
Light Blue	Pink	Blue
Yellow/Orange	Purple	Green
Beige	Turquoise	Combinations
Grey		Yellow
Greens		Orange
Red		

Mrs. Umpherville believes firmly that certain colours are appropriate for males and others for females. However, her colour/gender correlations are not exclusive. In her division of colours, the table records a change in colour appropriateness over time. Before 1983, red was defined as a male colour and blue and light blue were female colours. However, after 1983 the appropriateness of these colour assignations reversed making, blue and light blue appropriate for men and red for women. This suggests a certain dynamic quality to the assignation of sexual colour preference which is most probably related to market demand. Mrs. Umpherville works at achieving a balance of colour that she considers appropriate for the gender and age of the recipient and the pattern. For example, she feels that infants and young children's patterns should be bright and use more solid colours than those used for adults.

Pattern colours may also change depending on whether they are beaded on a smoked (brown) hide or an un-smoked (white) caribou hide. For example, in pattern #14 as illustrated in Figure 55 the line joining the flowers and leaves could be a flesh tone or a brown when used against the white caribou background. However, if the same pattern is beaded against a smoked hide surface, a bright green would be used for the line.

To further complicate the selection of colours, Mrs. Umpherville prefers to change the colours of the designs periodically because she becomes bored with beading the same pattern over and over again. Naturally, if one colour is altered, it may follow that other colours within the pattern will also have to be changed as with Plates 67 and 68.

Plate 67.

Caribou mitten, 1994
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

Plate 68.

Moccasin vamp, 1960s-70s
Collection of Neilla Premachuk

In determining the use of her patterns, she also responded to her customers. In about 1987, Mrs. Umpherville found that men stopped wanting flowers beaded on their pieces. "They only want designs." By designs Mrs. Umpherville meant abstract or geometric patterns. She recognized the change, and in her beading she responded to that change. However, certain floral patterns were still considered to be appropriate for men only. Nevertheless, in today's world if a woman wanted one of those patterns, she would bead it for her. This reaction is part of Mrs. Umpherville's flexibility in response to the times and the world around her.

---

[1] To complicate matters, Mrs. Umpherville uses the word "design" interchangeably with the nineteenth century sense of the word meaning drawing, as well as to mean abstract and geometric forms (as opposed to floral) of drawing. The word design is "derived from the Italian *disegno* and from the French *dessin*, both meaning 'a drawing'"(Turner 1996: Vol. 8, 801).

[2] This is perhaps understandable in that in my own experience it has proven very difficult to locate seed bead wholesalers in Canada and impossible to find seed bead manufacturers in the Czech Republic, even when contacting the Trade Commission of the Czech Republic.

[3] Symmetry analysis has been successfully employed on two-dimensional representations of material culture by a number of scholars, perhaps most prominently by Dorothy Washburn (1990, 1986b, 1984a, 1984b, 1983, 1978, 1977).

[4] Herb and Ann Smith are the brother and sister-in-law of Leah Braun who taught school in Brochet with her husband Ed. The Brauns were in Brochet from 1976 to 1979.

[5] This sharing of her artistic history provided unexpected dividends, for by the late 1990s some of her patterns were missing, having been lent to other women who had not returned them.

[6] Elsie Benoune (née Cook) was born in 1895.

[7] Kate Duncan (1989: 197) noted that the couching is so tight on some examples and that the paper has been torn away with such care that it is almost impossible to discern the paper with the naked eye. However, in slides, particularly underexposed ones, translucent beads with paper under them tend to glow.

CHAPTER EIGHT

"I MAKE MANY THINGS"

The variety of objects that Mrs. Umpherville produced in addition to mukluks, gauntlets, moccasins and mittens which formed the bulk of her production is a testament to her abilities as a sewer and beadwork artist. There are fourteen different categories of her less commonly beaded articles as well as sub-categories of souvenirs and beaded pictures. Although some of these items were made for commercial purposes, others were only created for family and special friends. Most of these objects were rarely made, in some instances only once. Yet as much time, thought and effort has gone into them as into any pair of mukluks made for commercial purposes. Indeed, some of her efforts in these categories are arguably among the best of her work. The fact that she sewed for her family and that many of these items were made as gifts, suggests that her artistry is not solely tied to economic incentives.

Mrs. Umpherville did not personalize beaded objects with customers' names or initials. However, she did occasionally for her children and in one instance for an infant she was babysitting. Articles made for the hunt such as rifle scabbards, knife sheathes, and shot pouches are not commonly decorated in Brochet. In contrast, she decorated them with anthropomorphic figures drawn by her husband Albert, or her son Clifford.

Barrettes

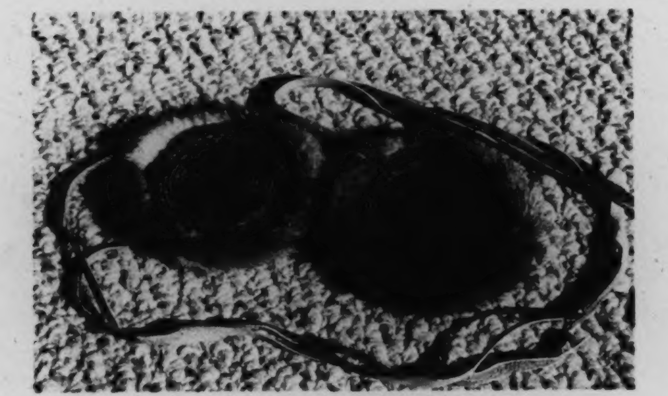
Mrs. Umpherville made a solid beaded barrette for me with pink and green accents that featured a caribou head. (Plate 69) Her husband Albert carved the

Plate 69.

Beaded barrette, 1980
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

accompanying bone hairpin. He drew the caribou head as well. I believe that an item such as this was unusual for a woman to receive. I know of no other. It may have been inspired by the fact that I had gone on the land to pick up a caribou meat cache and participated in a hunt. She also beaded hair ties for her son Clifford. The circular ties are fully beaded in a "Maltese Cross" design created by Clifford. The ties are trimmed with fur. (Plate 70)

Plate 70.



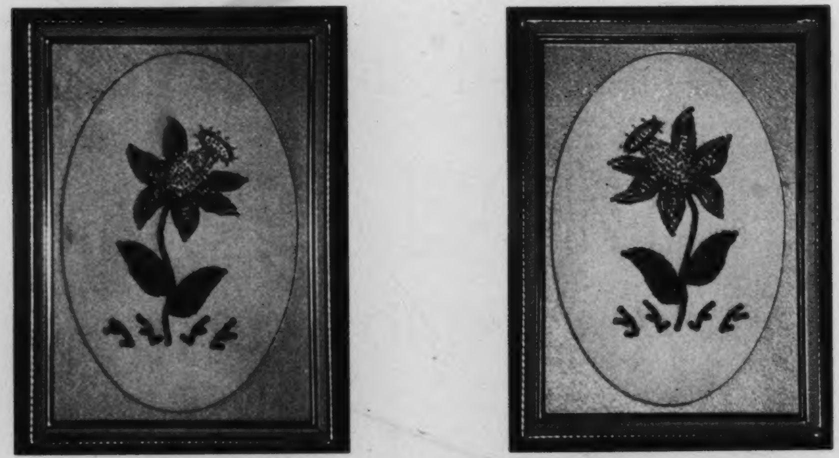
Beaded hair ties, n.d.
Collection of Clifford Umpherville

Beaded Pictures

Mrs. Umpherville has beaded a number of representative pictorial images both as special orders and gifts. On at least one occasion she beaded the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Crest for a member of the Lynn Lake detachment as a special order. She was not particularly pleased with the result. The buffalo head was too monochromatic and two dimensional for her taste. Still, she felt that she had produced what had been requested.

She beaded a pair of daffodils on white caribou hide as mentioned in the previous chapter and mounted them in frames as a gift for me. (Plate 71) She was much more pleased with these than with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police crest, probably because they were much more realistic.

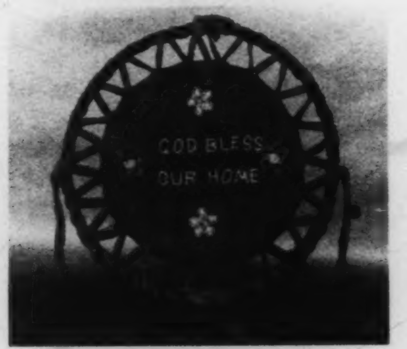
Plate 71.



Framed pair of beaded daffodils, 1986
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

In 1983, shortly after my husband and I purchased our home, Mrs. Umpherville beaded a "God Bless Our Home" shield on commercially tanned hide as a housewarming gift. Shields are most probably the result of a Pan-Indian Plains influence and were not common in the Native homes in Brochet. To the best of my knowledge she never made this type of item for commercial purposes.

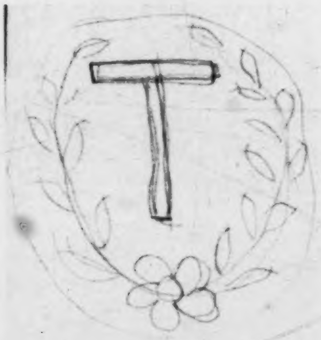
Plate 72.



Shield, 1982
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

She also made a shield on white caribou hide that was sent to the Pope by Father Darveau, a long time priest in Brochet. It displayed a central cross with an orange flower beneath it and a garland of leaves encircling the cross. (Figure 73)

Figure 73.



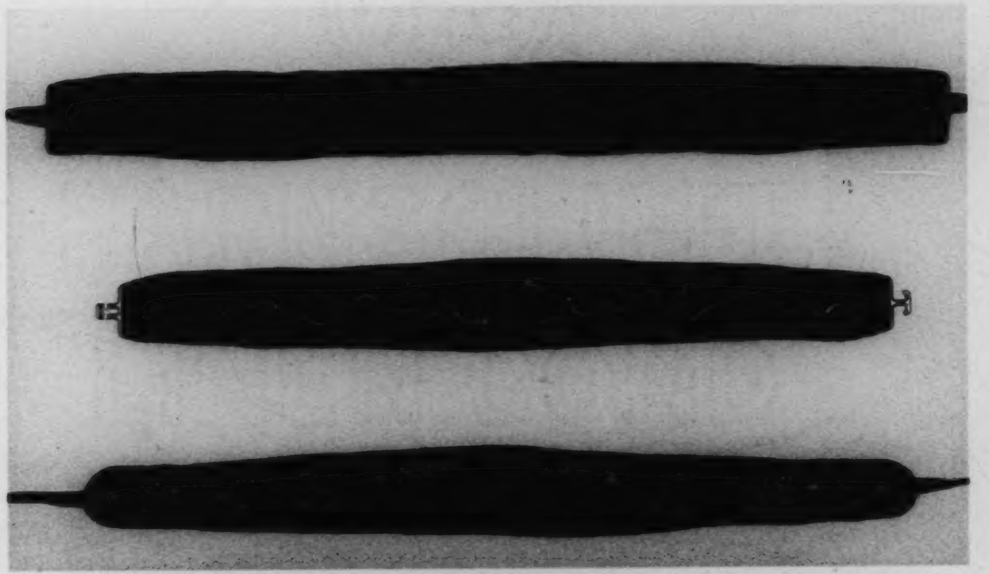
Sketch of pattern for beaded shield
Philomene Umpherville

Belts

Belts were a common item of dress in Brochet. James G. E. Smith purchased two for the Museum of Civilization in 1968 [III-DD-62 (III-D-366) (68/28/68) and III-DD-59 (III-D-367) (68/28/50)]. Beaded belts were principally woven using a loom fashioned from a tree branch. The woven strip was then fixed onto a leather back either by sewing or in some cases with glue. The result tended to be somewhat ordinary.

As is often the case, Mrs. Umpherville took this form and expanded it through imagination and extraordinary skill into something quite exemplary. She has beaded three floral belts, one for each of her daughters, Tina and Denise, and one for me. (Plate 73)

Plate 73.



(Top to bottom) Michelle Tracy's belt, Tina Umpherville's belt,
Denise Umpherville's belt
From Respective Collections

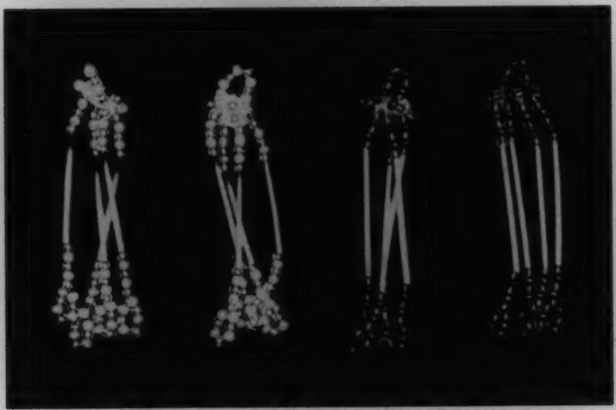
The belts were inspired by a wall chart produced by the Royal Ontario Museum in co-operation with the Federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development depicting a Woodland Cree tumpline (HK 1860). Denise had given her mother the wall chart as a souvenir of her work with Katimavik.[1]

For five years between 1993 and 1997 my husband and I ran a booth at the Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial. One of the requirements for having a booth was to enter five pieces into competition. I entered the belt that she made for me in the Beaded Belt Category in the 1993 Ceremonial. Mrs. Umpherville won third prize.

Earrings

Although Mrs. Umpherville learned as a child how to do quillwork in principle, she never practiced it. However, in 1992 after cancer surgery she turned to quillwork in a minor way by making quill earrings. A Cree woman in the The Pas Friendship Center taught her. It was something she could do to keep busy and she could sell them for $5 a pair. With this money she could pay a few small bills, but most of all she could still work with beads making colorful creations. When I visited her in 1993 she taught me how to make them and we would make earrings as we talked in the afternoon. (Plate 74)

Plate 74.

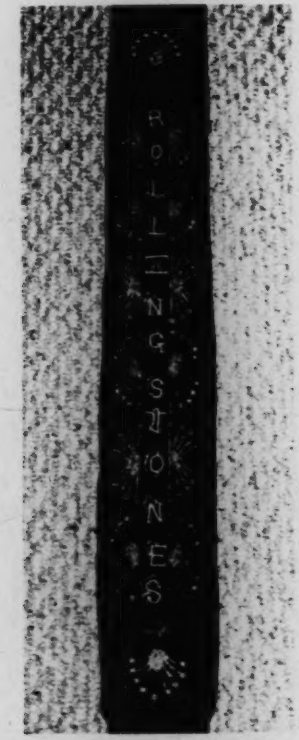


Beaded Earrings with Porcupine Quills, 1993
(Left to right) Michelle Tracy, Philomene Umpherville
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

Guitar Strap

Mrs. Umpherville beaded a guitar strap on black velvet sewn on commercial hide for her son Clifford. (Plate 75) The ends of the strap are finished with a common belt buckle. The beading features the name "Rolling Stones" and Clifford's name, "Cliff". The guitar strap, in terms of form and material, is the male equivalent of the belts she beaded for her daughters and me. However, it lacks the equivalent of the complex floral designs beaded onto the belts. This may be a function of Clifford's direct involvement in the design of the guitar strap.

Plate 75.



Guitar strap, n.d.
Collection of Clifford Umpherville

Inuit *Atigi*

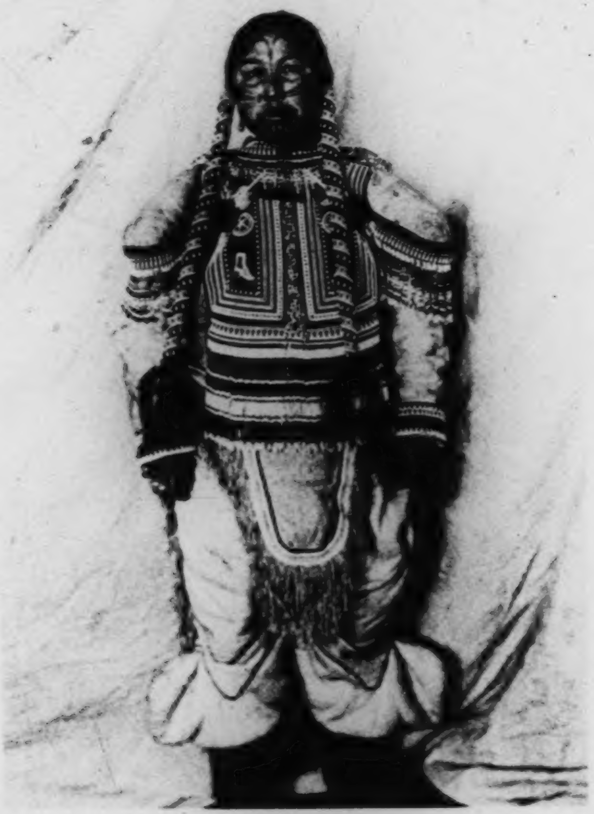
Lucy Ittinuar of Rankin Inlet lived in Lynn Lake, Manitoba for a number of years in the 1960s while her husband worked in the mine. It was during this time that she met Mrs. Umpherville at The Pas Trappers' Festival. They shared a common friend in Mrs. Neilla Premachuk and an interest in sewing traditional clothing. Mrs. Ittinaur specialized in the traditional *atigi* or beaded inner layer of the Caribou Eskimo parka. (See Arima 1984: 452; Driscoll 1980: 17-18.) While she did not have ready access to beading, Mrs. Ittinaur has proven to be a proficient seamstress having sewn and sold up to twenty *atigis* during the course of her career (to 1996). This inner layer is sometimes incorrectly referred to as an *amautik,* which more correctly refers to a woman's parka

Plate 76.

Winter carnival in The Pas, Manitoba, ca 1979
(Left to right) Lucy Ittinaur, Philomene Umpherville, Viola Merasty, Therese Merasty
The man is an unidentified German who was taking pictures of beadwork.
Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Philomene

with a carrying pouch for a baby. Mrs. Ittinaur's grandmother, Shoofly, also beaded *atigis*, on at least one of which she signed her name with beads[2]. (Plate 77) Mrs. Ittinaur still has a photograph of her grandmother's *atigi* and follows the same pattern.

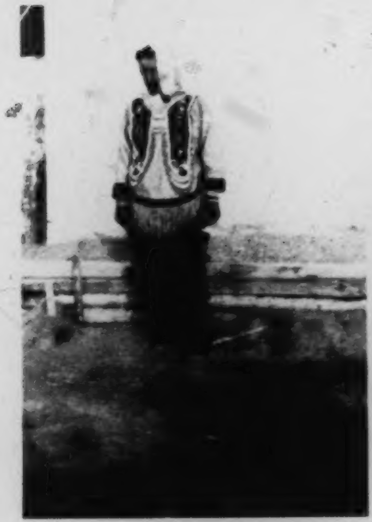
Plate 77.



Shoofly Comer
A.P. Low Expedition, 1903-1904
(Driscoll 1980: 6)

The concept of a beaded *atigi* would not have been foreign to the residents of Brochet. As previously noted, the Inuit had established a firm presence in Brochet in the late 19th century. In 1924 C. S. MacDonald of the Canadian Geological Survey acquired what he referred to as an "Eskimo Chief's Dress Coat" in Brochet. The beaded design on the garment is suggestive of an *atigi*. (Plate 78) The *atigi* was displayed in an exhibit of Eskimo and Indian curios in November of that year in the window of R. J. Devlin Co. Ltd. in Ottawa. (Plate 79)

Plate 78.



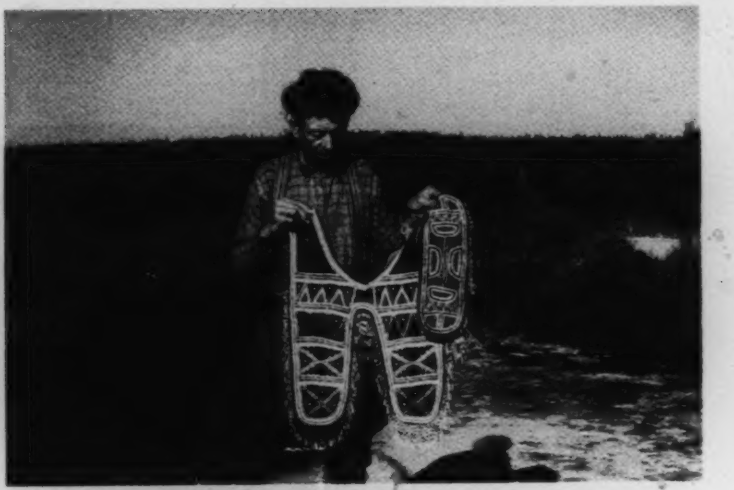
Beaded *atigi*
C. S. MacDonald, 1924
National Archives of Canada
PA19690

Plate 79.

R. J. Devlin Co. Ltd. in Ottawa, 1924
National Archives of Canada
PA 23123

Sixteen years later, in 1940, P. G. Downes photographed pieces from another beaded *atigi* made by the Padlimiut wife of Alfred Peterson in the vicinity of Brochet (Cockburn 1993: 9). (Plate 80)

Plate 80.



Alfred Peterson with his wife's beadwork
Brochet, 1940 (Cockburn 1993: 9)

About 1970, Mrs. Ittinuar commissioned Mrs. Umpherville to produce two sets of beaded strips that were later incorporated into two traditional Inuit *atigi*. Mrs. Ittinuar cut strips of red and blue duffle about two feet long and Mrs. Umpherville beaded them, with accompanying cuffs, for which she was paid $100. Mrs. Ittinuar wanted to buy more but Mrs. Umpherville felt that it took too much time and didn't wish to do any more.

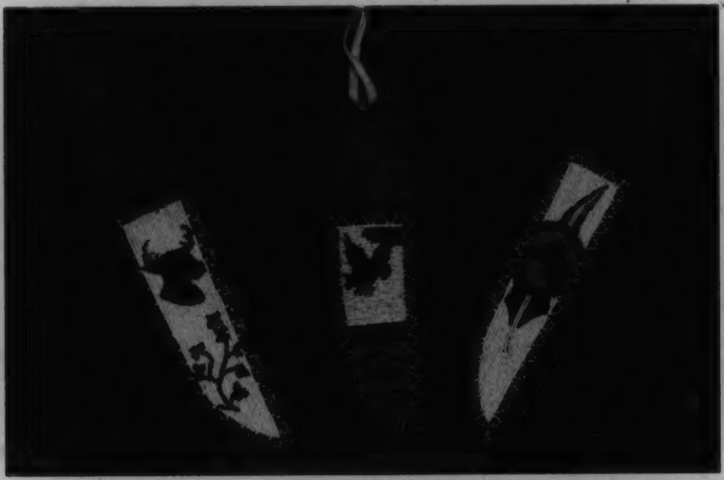
Mrs. Umpherville believes that one of the *atigis* she beaded was sold to the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Mrs. Ittinuar confirmed this during a telephone conversation on July 29, 1996 with her daughter-in-law, Jessie Kaludak, acting as translator. However, Mrs. Umpherville has been unable to identify her beading on photographs of the *atigis* sewn by Mrs. Ittinuar held by the museum.

Knife Sheaths

Although knife sheaths were commonly found in the community, decorated or beaded knife sheaths were uncommon and usually made for sale to non-community members. Utilitarian knives, particularly Green River skinning knives, were sold in the Hudson's Bay Company store without sheaths. Consequently there was a need for locally manufactured sheaths.

Philomene Umpherville sewed fully beaded knife sheaths as special orders. As with the rifle scabbards (Plates 82 and 83), these depicted anthropomorphic objects of the hunt. On my first visit to Brochet as a practice teacher for Frontier School Division in the spring of 1978, I ordered a knife sheath for my husband (Plate 81, center knife sheath). She beaded it with a hawk and a fish that had been drawn by her husband. The Catholic Brother Oscar similarly ordered two beaded knife sheaths for gifts for a trip to Belgium. They depicted a deer and a dog.

Plate 81.



Knife sheaths (left to right) 1980, 1978, 1980
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

The only other knife sheaths that I saw for sale while I was in residence in Brochet from 1978-1980 were two made of caribou leg hide with the hair attached. They were sewn by Dorothy Inglis who learned from Mrs. Umpherville. Dorothy had sewn them simply because she was "fooling around", looking for something different to make.

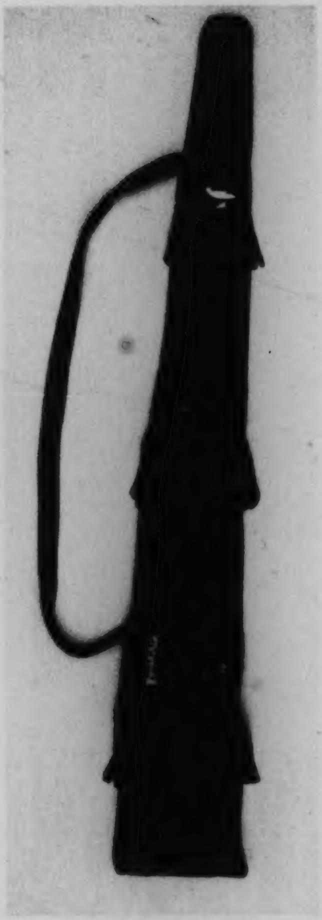
Purses

Mrs. Umpherville also made shoulder strap handbags for women. She "made them nice" from home tanned smoked and unsmoked caribou hide. Although I never observed any, they were apparently a common item in her repertoire.

Rifle Scabbards

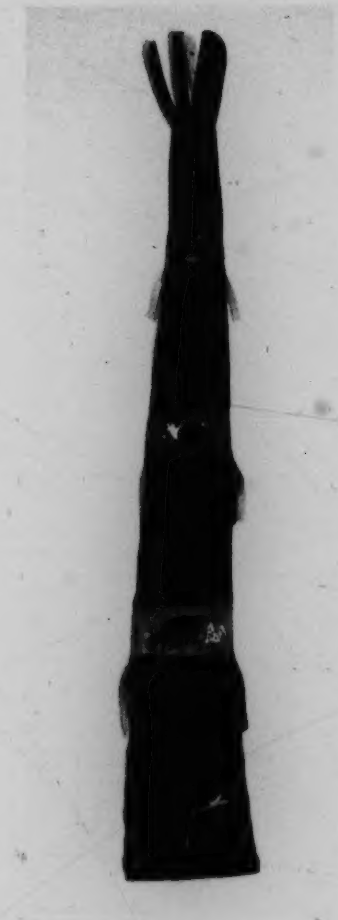
Rifle scabbards are present in Brochet as utilitarian items used for the hunt. They are predominantly undecorated and made from canvas. They are carried on the side of the snow machine in much the same manner as a rifle scabbard would be carried against the flank of a horse. Mrs. Umpherville has made three beaded scabbards to the best of my knowledge. Two were sewn as gifts, one for a son-in-law and the other for my husband. (Plate 83) The third scabbard was sold to a favorite teacher, Leah Braun, as a gift for her brother, Herb Smith (Plate 82).

Plate 82.



Rifle scabbard, ca 1978
Collection of Herb Smith

Plate 83.



Rifle scabbard, 1981
Collection of William and
Michelle Tracy

Characteristically, the scabbards are made from smoke tanned hide and decorated with three bands of fringe cut with pinking shears. A fourth clump of fringe at the end is optional. A tie down flap covers the butt of the rifle. A shoulder sling may or may not be added. My husband's scabbard is lined with heavy-duty nylon that allows the rifle to be pulled smoothly from its case. Three bands of anthropomorphic beadwork depict the objects of the hunt. These may include caribou, beaver, male and female mallard ducks, and ptarmigan in winter and summer plumage. Mrs. Umpherville's husband Albert and son Clifford drew the animals.

Shot Bag

Mrs. Umpherville occasionally sews and beads shoulder bags designed to hold rifle cartridges or shotgun shells. Such bags are sometimes given as gifts as was the case with the one she gave my husband for Christmas in 1982. Like other articles related to hunting, it is decorated with anthropomorphic designs, in this case two eagles. However, not all shot bags are so decorated. Mrs. Neilla Premachuk has one in her collection featuring a double curvilinear motif with leaves.

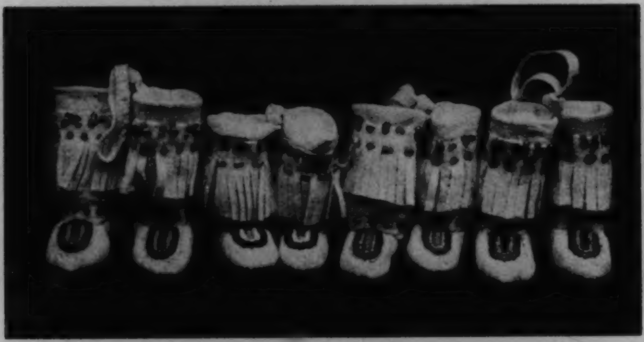
Plate 84.

Shot bag, 1982
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

Souvenirs

The most common of Mrs. Umpherville's non-traditional modes of artistic expression is the souvenir. Beaded miniatures form a major portion of this body of work. Mrs. Umpherville has fashioned miniature mukluks, moccasins and gauntlets. They are most commonly made of smoked and un-smoked remnants of caribou hide left over from larger projects. The mukluks measure four cm. heal to toe and 5.5 cm. high. They have fully beaded vamps, three bands of beads and fringe. They are modeled after the un-smoked caribou hide full-sized mukluks in the Chipewyan style that she most commonly beaded between 1960 and 1979. The moccasins measure four cm. from heal to toe, have fully beaded vamps, and beaded cuff. The gauntlets are five cm. long and three cm. wide, excluding fringe. They have fringe on one side and beading on both the back of the cuff and the mitt.

Plate 85.



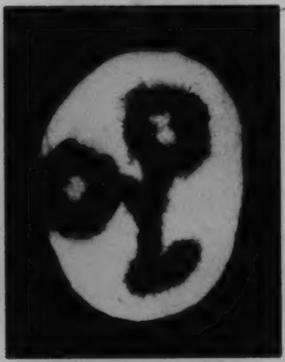
Five miniature mukluks, 1995
Collection of William and Michelle Tracy

The primary function of these miniatures was to attach to the front zipper of commercially made parkas. They were sold locally as "parka pulls". However, they have also been successfully marketed by my husband and me at the Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial as Christmas tree ornaments. In 1995, a boxed set of six miniature mukluks won Honorable Mention in the Contemporary Innovations Category at the Ceremonial. These were among the last objects beaded by Mrs. Umpherville as she grew older and her eyesight began to fail her for larger projects. As well, she experienced difficulty with the mobility of her arm as the result of a radical mastectomy.

Tufting

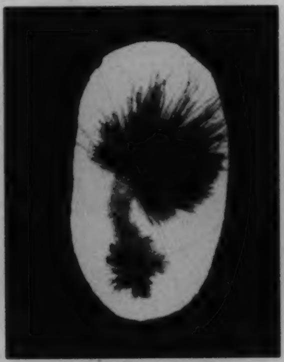
Mrs. Umpherville occasionally experimented with other art forms such as moose hair tufting. In the late 1970s when she was in The Pas, Myrtle Chartrand taught her. However, without further instruction she only attempted two pieces that she retained as evidence of her experiment. She didn't tell many people what she had learned for fear that she would be driven to do more. She later gave both examples to me. (Plates 86 and 87)

Plate 86.



Moose hair tufting, n.d.
Collection of William
and Michelle Tracy

Plate 87.



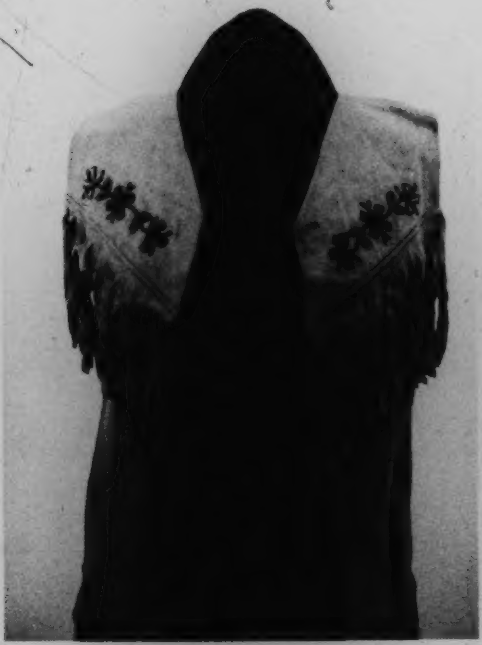
Moose hair tufting, n.d.
Collection of William
and Michelle Tracy

Vests

Although vests were present in Brochet, they were only slightly more common than beaded jackets. Two vests were entered in the 1979 Brochet Winter Carnival in the crafts competition. Neilla Premachuk's collection of beadwork formed between 1960 and 1979 contains two vests, neither made by Mrs. Umpherville. There are no vests from Brochet in the collections of the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, Museum of the American Indian, or the Museum of Man and Nature in Winnipeg. This may be because they have not been judged "traditional".

Mrs. Umpherville sewed and beaded a vest for her son Philip. (Plates 88 and 89) Her son selected the stylized floral beaded pattern from among those in her bead box.

Plate 88.



Vest (front view), n.d.
Collection of
Philip Umpherville

Plate 89.

Vest (rear view), n.d.
Collection of
Philip Umpherville

Wallet

The first customers Mrs. Umpherville had were four men who installed the radio station in Brochet, probably about 1953-54. Mrs. Umpherville beaded a wallet for installer Ronald Randall from Australia. The wallet measured about four inches by six inches and was beaded on both sides. It depicted a caribou on one side and a wolf on the other. Randall provided drawings for the beading and also chose the colours of the beads. Interaction with her customers, knowledge of who is receiving the object, and a desire to please with a beautiful creation contribute to Mrs. Umpherville's versatility.

---

[1] Katimavik was a youth program funded by the federal government from 1976 to 1986. Katimavik sent young Canadians across the country to work in youth programs. Participants received room and board and a dollar a day. If they completed their full terms service of nine months, they received an additional $1,000.

[2] The Winnipeg Art Gallery presented *The Inuit Amautik, I Like My Hood to Be Full* from August 9 to October 26, 1980. Included in the exhibition was a photograph (Figure 100) of Shoofly wearing her *amautik*.

CHAPTER NINE

ENDINGS AND BEGINNINGS

Beadwork deserves to be considered an art form as full of precedents, inspiration, and creativity as any other form of creative expression. Other forms of Native art such as weaving, pottery and sculpture have already been granted this elevated position. However beadwork, perhaps because of its association with clothing, has lagged behind in the popular imagination. This may be more of a reflection of the limited perspectives of the non-Native culture than a reflection of the true merits of the expressive form. William Sturtevant (1967: 160) stated that "If, as I believe, any reasonable cross-cultural definition of art will include all artifacts (and much else), then no justification is needed for treating clothing under the heading 'visual art' ". Unfortunately Sturtevant's opinion is not widespread and as a consequence, Mrs. Umpherville and her work as well as the work of other beadworkers do not receive the attention they warrant.

The Heritage of Who You Are

Mrs. Umpherville's Métis heritage helps define who she is as a person and as such also helps to define her art. As a child growing up in Brochet, her sense of self and family, particularly in an economic sphere, helped to set her apart from her contemporaries. Her reminiscences are rife with references to the things that she and her family had which separated them from the Chipewyan and Cree population. However, her view of her distinctiveness does not appear to be based simply on comparative wealth but on status as well. She knows not only who she is, but also who her family was. Family members held salaried positions that were scarce within the community. They lived in two story log homes while their Chipewyan and Cree neighbors lived in tents.

Even more fundamentally, they lived in town rather than on the land. Even at Sandy Hills Mrs. Umpherville was well aware of the position of power and authority that her father held. This awareness of quality instilled at an early age may well have affected the quality of her sewing and beading. Many women in Brochet beaded, but it was her Auntie Elise who beaded the altar cloth for the church. Similarly, Mrs. Umpherville's mukluks, gauntlets and moccasins were unrivaled in a community known for its beadwork. James G. E. Smith recognized her specifically as one of the finest makers of Chipewyan-style mukluks and as a Cree woman (J. G. E. Smith, Canadian Museum of Civilization catalogue notes III DD 40a-b). This recognition would please her even though today, she considers herself Métis.

The photographs of Mrs. Umpherville in Plantagenet, and later The Pas, reflect a woman who for all intents and purposes appears to be part of mainstream, albeit rural, Canada. Judging by our conversations, she doesn't appear to have attempted to stress her Métis ancestry during those years when she was away from Brochet. Indeed, the reverse may be true. Her father brought white fox pelts from Marie River Island to his sisters in Plantagenet who used them to trim their winter coats. But

> I never took it, moccasins or mitts smoked. No never, I remember never. ... They all teachers. I guess they don't want to smell that smoke. ... Maybe they burn that. They were young people. [While I was there I made] just a little souvenirs and belt for my aunt for my sisters. That's all. I went to school. I learned hard. I don't bother any beading.

Yet somehow after she returned in Brochet in 1955, she appears to have gradually adopted a new persona, probably as a reaction to her surroundings, both physical and social. This new presentation of self gradually began to reassert its Métis roots. Indeed, her assertion of her Métis heritage did not reach full fruition until she formally applied for Métis status in the early 1990s.

Where Are You From?

Clearly, the physical environment of Brochet did much to influence the forms taken by Mrs. Umpherville's creativity. The isolation of the community restricted to some extent her selection of raw materials for her artistic endeavors and the socially sanctioned form (beadwork) that they could take. Even when the extremely limited selection of fabric could be overcome with mail order purchases, the cost of imported goods still had to be reckoned with in a cash strapped society. However, the presence of caribou and moose provided a ready supply of leather from which garments could be sewn and beaded. Yet with the predominance of commercial clothing in the community, the hides themselves almost became a waste product of the hunt, whose primary function was to supply the community with meat – almost, but not quite. Some hides were still processed and sold, mostly within the community, to women like Mrs. Umpherville, who would in turn fashion them into garments and other finished products for personal consumption or sale.

Home-tanned leather, particularly un-smoked caribou hide, decorated with her beadwork contributed to the characteristic appearance of Mrs. Umpherville's work. The natural environment also provided inspiration for many of her beading patterns as attested to by Table 1. Of the 54 patterns listed, all but the tulips (12) and the tiger lily (1) are found in Brochet.

The physical location of Brochet with its particular repertoire of resources both animal and botanical arguably did as much to influence Mrs. Umpherville's art as did the social context within which she plied her talents.

What Do You Do?

Mrs. Umpherville takes great pride in creating a piece of beadwork according to her exacting aesthetic perceptions. She does not just copy beading patterns; she creates, manipulates, and reinterprets them. She adds and deletes elements, enlarges and reduces patterns, experiments with colours, and most importantly responds to her changing environment. This includes the natural environment, her perception of who she is, and the many people in her life. When she looks at an object that she has made, she looks at the whole object, not just the sewing or the beading. It must all flow together. Despite this, Mrs. Umpherville defines herself as a sewer more than a beader. As difficult as this is for me to accept given the beauty of her finished work, it is part of her definition of self worth. Outside of Brochet, outside of the environment, I, the other, may re-define Mrs. Umpherville's work as artistic. Sally Price (1989: 104) noted that many collectors believed that they "bore responsibility for creating an 'aesthetic whole' by selecting, according to their personal vision, exceptional works crafted by people who had no comparable vision, people whose criteria of excellence had no significant aesthetic component." While this belief is certainly fallacious, it is nonetheless true that the values that Mrs. Umpherville grew up with placed a greater emphasis on a woman's ability to produce functional clothing rather than beautifully decorated clothing, even though the work of an individual beader could be identified by other members of the community years after the work was done. A well-sewn caribou parka could literally save a life.

Without proper wrap-around moccasins, feet could freeze. The artistic dimension of a well-sewn pair of beaded moccasins or gauntlets could be a source of pride, perhaps status, and more recently income. Nevertheless, it was a secondary consideration to being able to clothe your family.

The relative importance of sewing over beading likely began to change over Mrs. Umpherville's life as commercially sewn garments became more and more readily available. Yet certain forms, such as moccasins and gauntlets, persisted due in part, no doubt, to their perceived technical superiority as cold weather garments over their commercial counterparts.

The gradual development of a market composed principally of individuals who originated outside Brochet was a tremendous economic boon to Mrs. Umpherville and her family. It provided a ready, if somewhat unpredictable, source of cash that did not require her to work outside of the community in a fish camp. Indeed, she was able to work in her own home while attending to the needs of her family.

The presence of a relatively stable market in the person of Neilla Premachuk, a free trader in Brochet from 1960 -1979, allowed Mrs. Umpherville the financial support to be able to hone her skills as an artist. Mrs. Premachuk also entered Mrs. Umpherville's beadwork into competition at the The Pas Trappers Festival. Mrs. Umpherville attended the festival at her own expense, but stayed with Mrs. Premachuk who gave all the prize money and ribbons to her as the artist. The presence in Brochet of James G. E. Smith, then an anthropologist with the Canadian Museum of Civilization and later with the Museum of the American Indian, from 1967 to 1970 also did much to expand her market if only for a limited period of time. Another anthropologist, Robert Brightman, also purchased "a lot" from her while he was in the area from 1977 to 1979 and again from 1985 to 1986.

Although my husband and I might be classified as part of the non-resident White population composed of teachers, nurses, Hudson's Bay Company employees, Department of Public Works employees, Calm Air pilots, Royal Canadian Mounted Police constables, and mission staff, we did purchase items with more regularity than most in the 1978-1980 period. We purchased as much beadwork from her as we were allowed. We would have bought more but Mrs. Umpherville frowned on greed, and we did not wish to appear unfavorably in her eyes. We did, however, arrange the first (and only) beadwork competition held during the Brochet Winter Carnival. In an adjudicated competition she won first prize, which included a cash prize as well as an embossed silver tray. She still treasures the tray as recognition of her work that she received within her community.

Between 1993 and 1997 my husband and I twice entered her pieces in the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial in Gallup, New Mexico. Her entries won two ribbons and prize money, all of which she received as the artist. She strongly supported our enterprise and wanted us to teach people about beadwork.

While Mrs. Umpherville's productivity continued through the 1980s and into the 1990s, by the middle of the decade she was hampered with weakened eyesight and cancer surgery in 1992 that inhibited the mobility of her right arm. Still she continued to carry on with smaller projects for several years. Indeed, at age 83 she is still keenly interested in her patterns and in beading. Nearly four decades of labor has done little to blunt her enthusiasm. Perhaps the years have even sharpened it.

Retrospective

Many people directly contributed to the inspiration of Mrs. Umpherville's beadwork patterns. I, on the other hand, have never given her even one pattern. This was a conscious decision because of my anthropological training of non-interference as an undergraduate and as a result of what I learned from my husband's anthropology graduate work. I always found it interesting to see how others affected her work, but I felt until recently that I did not influence her. Today, I truly regret never having given her at least one design. I would have been so pleased to have been a part of her memories when she opens her cookie box of patterns. I always encouraged Mrs. Umpherville to use the patterns and colors that she liked, but she knew me and my tastes and she worked with them. She also had many opportunities to copy or incorporate designs from books and photographs that I brought with me to Brochet, but to my knowledge she never.

In a sense the influence that I have had on Mrs. Umpherville's work goes beyond designs, money and awards. It also doesn't only include me but my husband as well. From our first meeting, Mrs. Umpherville knew me as part of a couple. She made Bill a knife sheath as a present from me on my first trip to Brochet. I began learning about her beading on that visit. I learned what elements should be beaded on a knife sheath and that Mr. Umpherville would draw them because he knew how. More importantly, perhaps, I learned that upon accepting a teaching position I already had a friend in the community. For her part, Mrs. Umpherville learned that there was a couple interested in beadwork coming back to Brochet in August. I believe that together through our interest in her life and traditions, we strengthened her pride in her work and her identity. She taught me how to make bannock, dried meat, pemmican and other foods, how to tan caribou hides, as well as how to bead on a loom and on leather. If Bill had not supported me and participated in learning some of the skills, what she could have taught me would have been different. For example, I was afraid of the extremely sharp knife used in making dried caribou meat, and could not cut the meat thinly enough. She had the satisfaction, however, of teaching Bill who could do it with ease. Therefore she could still pass on a skill that was extremely important to her. I only learned how to do it in theory and recorded the process.

Mrs. Umpherville knew that both of us appreciated her beadwork and that in 1989 Bill had published an article that included a few examples of her patterns. When Bill and I entered some of her pieces in the competition at the Inter-tribal Ceremonial, we opened a new world for her. She asked many questions as I recounted the details of the Ceremonial to her. We talked about the other beadwork in the competition and the other pieces of art. We also spoke of the other artists that my husband and I met and about common difficulties in selling art and meeting buyers' demands. In particular we talked about how some American men did not find floral beadwork masculine and how others overcame this cultural barrier and purchased her pieces.

When I went back to Brochet in 1993 and subsequently in 1998 and 2000, Mrs. Umpherville responded very positively to my interest in and desire to learn more about her and her beadwork. I always brought books on beadwork and photographs of the community, and I shared with her whatever information I had learned. Sometimes other women and men would also come to see what I had brought and to talk. I believe I made Mrs. Umpherville more aware of another world, an academic world, where her knowledge could continue. She is hungry for people to know her and for her traditions to continue. She does not want people to forget her. This thesis will allow her to leave behind a legacy beyond her artifacts in museums and private collections.

The question must inevitably arise, are Mrs. Umpherville and her work unique? I believe the answer must be that she is unusual but not unique. There are other women in the north who have taken their beading to similarly high planes. Kate Duncan and Eunice Carney (1988) have co-operatively documented the latter's work. I have met perhaps three others who might compete on a basis of technical excellence with Mrs. Umpherville. However, it is not simply the technical quality of the work but also its diversity and longevity that make Mrs. Umpherville's work stand out. As well, the sheer volume of her beading pattern repertoire is, in my experience, unequalled.

Future Research

Where might this research lead me in the future? I would like to document all of Mrs. Umpherville's beading patterns rather than rely on the sample included here. This would allow other researchers to see connections and gain insights that I may have overlooked. The publication of the raw data becomes an important aspect of further research.

As mentioned above I have been privileged to meet at least three more exceptional beadwork artists in northern Saskatchewan. On the surface it appears that what these beadwork artists have in common is that they are all women, have lived in the subarctic for most of their lives, and have used beadwork to help sustain their everyday livelihood into their latter years. Analyzing Mrs. Umpherville's experience in a comparative study involving these women would extend my knowledge of northern beadwork and beadwork artists and allow me to draw broader conclusions.

I would also take the opportunity to further contextualize Mrs. Umpherville and her work within North American society. This would involve examining the societal roles played by the Métis generally in Canada, and more particularly in Manitoba and the Canadian west. Most of the literature that exists on North American Native art is American. The effects of American literature, historiography, and popular culture have done much to influence Canadian thoughts and attitudes. Nevertheless, Canadian attitudes are quite different and examining the acceptance of her work and the work of other beadwork artists in a comparative framework would be enlightening.

I believe that it is necessary to examine trends in North America as a whole, for while Canadian attitudes are at least somewhat shaped by American ones, in the area of Native American art the American and Canadian experiences have been quite different. The medium of beads and leather selected by Mrs. Umpherville as an artist, combined with her ethnicity, have arguably restricted her acceptance as an artist by mainstream society. I would like to provide an historical context in North America for the appreciation, or lack of it, for Native American art forms.

In addition, the economic impact of Mrs. Umpherville's work has been touched upon here but not thoroughly explored. Her immediate family, of course, feels the impact of her work most strongly. However, the rest of the community and vicinity are also involved in the economic loop of procurement of raw materials and, to a limited extent, the consumption of finished products. For example, the Church in the personage of the local priest, Father Darveau, acted as an intermediary between Mrs. Umpherville and the Chipewyan residents of Lac Brochet by providing her with caribou hides and furs.

A strong patron-client relationship developed between Mrs. Umpherville and Mrs. Neilla Premachuk during the former's most productive years. This influence on Mrs. Umpherville's work would have to be explored in a future economic study. However, the patron/client relationship itself should be pursued as separate research within a feminist framework. Furthermore, this relationship could offer insights into the influence traders have had on indigenous art production. Research on individual traders in the Southwest such as Lester William's *C. N. Cotton and his Navajo Blankets* (1989); Willow Roberts' *Stokes Carson: Twentieth-Century Trading on the Navajo Reservation* (1987); H. L. James's *Rugs and Posts: The Story of Navajo Weaving and Indian Trading* (1988); Deborah Slaney's *Blue Gem, White Metal: Carving and Jewelry from the C. G. Wallace Collection* (1998); and Willow Roberts Powers' *Navajo Trading, The End of an Era* (2001) are just five examples that offer insights into the dynamics of trader/artist relationships, which mostly stress effects on production. The very intimate details of individual relationships appear to be scarcer and would offer a different and perhaps more balanced perspective.

While this thesis has occasionally referred to Mrs. Umpherville's work as art, there has not been a sustained discussion of what constitutes art, particularly with reference to Native Americans. Although scholars of Native American art regard this as an issue long resolved in their favor, it is not an issue that has been resolved in the minds of the general public. I believe it would be useful to trace Western concepts of art and examine their applicability to non-western art forms such as beadwork. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner (1999: 7) have commented:

> The visual aesthetic traditions of the majority of these people [Native Americans] are a particularly bad "fit" with

> the Western classification system, for Western hierarchies of media, genre, and conditions of production rarely match those that have historically operated within Native American communities. In order to identify a corpus of objects that could be identified as fine art – that is, sculpture (monumental, if possible) and graphic depiction (painted, if possible) – scholars have often privileged objects of lesser status within their producing communities, arbitrarily promoting some regions of the continent over others and ignoring the indigenous systems of value and meaning attached to objects.

I would suggest that tracing the Western definition and perception of art might be of interest in explaining the rejection of Native American art forms, beadwork in particular, as art by many. More than this, however, an examination of the techniques of art history might throw light on the creation of a Native American art history.

Scholars have for some time applied historical artistic critique techniques to African and Oceanic art forms. William Fagg (1971, 1961) has been particularly influential in applying the analytical techniques of art history to the identification of particular African artists and their workshops. The fact that the object of his study was sculptural no doubt made the crossover from Western fine art to "primitive" art easier. However, the point I should like to stress here is that this approach has seldom been applied to Native American art. Hans Himmelheber (1967) studied tribal art of the Ivory Coast and Robert Thompson (1973, 1969) worked among the Yoruba.

Scholars have also examined the role of the artist in divergent societies. An examination of their conclusions might well provide insight into the role of Mrs. Umpherville within her society. Suzanne Baizerman (1987) studied textile production in northern New Mexico in her unpublished dissertation *Textiles, Traditions and Tourist Art: Hispanic Weaving in Northern New Mexico*. Warren d'Azevedo (1973, 1966) has examined the role of the artist in selected African societies, as have William Bascom (1969), Ulli Beir (1968), Paul Bohannan (1961), Kelvin Carol (1967), and Thomas Seligman (1986). Ronald Berndt (1958) has turned his attention to Australian Aboriginal art. Tibor Bodrogi (1961) published *Art in North-East New Guinea.* Adrian Gerbrands (1967) studied with Asmat wood carvers in New Guinea. Douglas Newton (1961) wrote *Art Styles of the Papuan Gulf.* Raymond Firth studied art in New Zealand (1959) and in New Guinea (1936). Allan Hanson (1983) also studied with the Maori. Anthony Forge (1967) penned "The Abelam Artist" in *Social Organization: Essays Presented to Raymond Firth*.

Finally, it might be profitable to undertake a more formal analysis of the patterns themselves. Although this might take me far from the qualitative approach I have adopted for this thesis, it would present an opportunity to address a portion of my data that might reveal relationships that have been otherwise missed. For instance, symmetry analysis has been successfully employed on two-dimensional representations of material culture by a number of scholars, perhaps most prominently by Dorothy Washburn (1990, 1986b, 1984a, 1984b, 1983, 1978, 1977) and by Dorothy Washburn and Donald Crowe (1992).

Having set a base, I see future research on beadwork emphasizing other individual beadworkers and re-contextualizing their experiences within various larger frameworks.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas, Chancery Office, Le Pas, Manitoba
  Baptismal, Marriage, and Death Certificates

Archives Oblates, Maison Deschâtelets, Ottawa, Ontario
  Photographic Archives

Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa, Ontario
  Library, Archives, and Documentation
    Catalogue Notes

Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba
  Correspondence Books: Fort Churchill 1869
    York Factory 1791, 1809
  District Reports: Cumberland House 1881
    Lac du Brochet 1894
    Reindeer Lake 1819-1820, 1820-1821
  Fur Trade Servants Records 1922, 1924
  Index and Register of Baptisms 1825
  Index and Register of Marriages and Burials 1824
  London Office Records
  Minutes of Council: York Factory 1824
  Photographic Archives
  Post Journals: Reindeer Lake 1820
    York Factory 1786, 1791, 1795, 1797, 1810, 1819
  Red River Settlement Census Returns
  Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms
  Red River Settlement Index and Register to Baptisms, Marriages and Burials
  Selkirk Papers
  Ship's Logs: King George III, Prince of Wales I
  Unclassified Accountant's Department Material, Fur Trade Retired Servants Records
  Unclassified Fur Trade Department Material, Fur Trade Character Reports, Clerk & Postmaster 1911, 1912
  Unclassified Fur Trade Department Material, Records of Service 1924, 1927

Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba
  Ethnography File

National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario
  Photographic Archives

Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta
  Oblate Collection

Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Land Records, Half-Breeds and Original White Settlers, Applications of 1885 made by Northeast Half-Breeds 1885
Photographic Archives
St. John's Marriage Records 1854-1882
St. Peter's Marriage Records 1851-1890

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, G., and L. Fortier

1959 How to Dye Moose Hide or Deer Skin. *The Camsell Arrow* 13(1): 23-24.

Arima, E.

1984 Caribou Eskimo. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 5.* David Damas, ed. Pp. 447-462. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

d'Azevedo, Warren L.

1973 *The Traditional Artist in African Society.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

1966 *The Artist Archetype in Gola Culture.* Desert Research Institute, pre-print no. 14. Reno: University of Nevada.

Baizerman, Suzanne

1987 *Textiles, Traditions and Tourist Art: Hispanic Weaving in Northern New Mexico.* Ph.D. dissertation, Department Design, Housing and Apparel: University of Minnesota.

Banfield, Alexander W. F.

1951 *The Barren Ground Caribou.* Ottawa: Department of Resources and Development.

Barth, Fredrik, ed.

1969 *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Differences.* Boston: Little, Brown.

Bascom, William

1969 Creativity and Style in African Art. In *Tradition and Creativity in Tribal Art.* Daniel P. Biebuyck, ed. Pp. 98-119. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Beaumont, Raymond

1992 Origins and Influences: The Family Ties of Reverend Henry Budd. *Prairie Forum* 17(2): 167-200.

Beaven, Dianne

1976 *Some Edible and Poisonous Berries Common to: Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Forestry Association Incorporated.

Beier, Ulli

1968 *Contemporary Art in Africa.* New York: Frederick Praeger.

Belenky, Mary Field, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger, and Jill Mattuck Tarule

1986 *Women's Ways of Knowing, The Development of Self, Voice and Mind.* Basic Books.

Berndt, Ronald M.

1958 Some Methodological Considerations in the Study of Australian Aboriginal Art. *Oceania* 29(1): 26-43.

Birket-Smith, Kaj

1930 Contributions to Chipewyan Ethnology. *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-1924.* Copenhagen: Glydendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

Blady, Sharon

1996 Beadwork as an Expression of Métis Cultural Identity. In *Issues in the North, Volume 1.* Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe, eds. Pp. 133-144. Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Circumpolar Institute.

Bodrogi, Tibor

1961 *Art in North-East New Guinea.* Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Bohannan, Paul

1961 Artist and Critic in an African Society. In *The Artist in Tribal Society, Proceedings of a Symposium held at the Royal Anthropological Institute.* Marian W. Smith, ed. Pp. 85-94. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Boudreau, Norman J., ed.

1974 *The Athapaskans, Strangers of the North.* Ottawa: National Museum of Man/Royal Scottish Museum.

Boyle, Joyceen S.

1994 Styles of Ethnography. In *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods.* Janice M. Morse, ed. Pp.159-185. Thousand Oakes, California: Sage Publications.

Brasser, Theodore J.

1987 By the Power of Their Dreams. In *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples.* Pp. 93-131. Calgary: Glenbow Museum.

1985 In Search of Métis Art. In *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America.* J. Peterson and J. S. Brown, eds. Pp. 221-229.Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

1976 *Bo'jou, Neejee: Profiles of Canadian Indian Art.* Ottawa: National Museum of Canada.

1975 Metis Artisans. *The Beaver*. Outfit 306(2): 52-57. Winnipeg.

1970 Group Identification Along a Moving Frontier. *Verhandlungen des 38 Internationalen Amerikanistenkongresses*. Band 2: 261-265. Munich: Renner.

Brightman, Robert A.
1993 *Grateful Prey, Rock Cree Human-Animal Relationships*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

1989 Acaoohkiwina and Acimowina: Traditional Narratives of the Rock Cree Indians. *Canadian Museum of Civilization, Mercury Series. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper* 113. Ottawa.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie
1979 *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Bubolz, Margaret M., and M. Suzanne Sontag
1993 Human Ecology Theory. In *Sourcebook of Family Theories and Methods: A Contextual Approach*. P. G. Boss, W. J. Doherty, R. LaRossa, W. R. Schumm and S. K. Steinmetz, ed. Pp.419-447. New York: Plenum Press.

Buchanan, Angus (Capt.)
1920 *Wildlife in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland.

Bunzel, Ruth
1929 *The Pueblo Potter: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Burnham, Dorothy K.
1992 *To Please the Caribou, Painted Caribou-Skin Coats Worn by the Naskapi, Montagnais, and Cree Hunters of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Bussidor, Ila, and Uston Bilgen-Reinert
1997 *Night Spirits, the Story of the Relocation of the Sayisi Dene*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Calef, George
1981 *Caribou and the Barren Lands*. Ottawa/Toronto: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee/Firefly Books Ltd.

Cameron, A.
1912 *The New North*. New York: Appleton and Cy.

Carroll, Kelvin
1967 *Yoruba Religious Carving*. New York: Praeger.

Clayton-Gouthro, Cecile M.
1994 Patterns in Transition, Moccasin Production and Ornamentation of the Janvier Band Chipewyan. *National Museum of Man, Mercury Series. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper 127.* Ottawa.

Cockburn, R. H.
1993 The Past in Colour. *Beaver* 73(2): 4-11.

Cohodas, Marvin
1997 *Baskets Weavers of the California Tourist Trade Elizabeth and Louse Hickox*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Conn, Richard
1980 Native American Cloth Appliqué and Ribbonwork: Their Origins and Diffusion in the Plains. In *Native American Ribbonwork: A Rainbow Tradition*. Pp. 9-23. Cody: Buffalo Bill Historical Centre.

Creswell, John
1998 *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*. Thousands Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Cruikshank, Julie
1998 *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

1991 *Reading Voice: Dän dhá ts'ledenintth'é = Oral and Written Interpretations of the Yukon's Past*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.

Csonka, Yvon
1999 A stereotype further dispelled: Inuit-Dene relations west of Hudson Bay, 1920-1956. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 23(1-2): 117-144.

Davidson, Gordon Charles
1918 *The Northwest Company*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Department of Mines, Resources, and Environmental Management.
1979 *Annual Directory: Manitoba Geographical Names*. Winnipeg: Department of Mines, Resources, and Environmental Management.

Downes, P.G.
1943 *Sleeping Island, The Story of One Man's Travels in the Great Barren Lands of the Canadian North*. New York: Coward-McCann Inc.

1938 Reindeer Lake Pottery. *American Antiquity* 4(1): 48.

Driscoll, Bernadette
1980 The Amautik in Inuit History and Culture. In *The Inuit Amautik, I Like My Hood to Be Full*. Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery.

Duncan, Kate
1989 *Northern Athapaskan Art: A Beadwork Tradition*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Duncan, Kate, and Eunice Carney
1988 *A Special Gift: The Kutchin Beadwork Tradition*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Fagg, William
1971 *African Arts and Craftsmen*. New York: Van Nostrand and Reinhold.

Feder, Norman
1964 *Art of the Eastern Plains Indians, the Nathan Sturges Jarvis Collection*. New York: The Brooklyn Museum.

Fiore, Ann Marie, Patricia Anne Kimle, and Josephine Maria Moreno
1996a Aesthetics: A Comparison of the State of the Art Inside and Outside the Field of Textiles and Clothing. Part One: Creator and Creative Process. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 14: 30-40.

1996b Aesthetics: A Comparison of the State of the Art Inside and Outside the Field of Textiles and Clothing. Part Two: Object. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 14: 97-107.

Fiore, Ann Marie, Josephine Maria Moreno, and Patricia Anne Kimle
1996 Aesthetics: A Comparison of the State of the Art Inside and Outside the Field of Textiles and Clothing. Part Three: Appreciation Process, Appreciator and Summary Comparisons. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 14: 169-184.

Firth, Raymond
1959 *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*. Wellington: Government Printer.

1936 *Art and Life in New Guinea*. London: Studio.

Fischer, Michael M. J.
1986 Ethnicity and the post-modern arts of memory. In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds. Pp. 194-233. Berkley: University of California Press.

Fleming, R. Harvey, ed.
1940 *Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1821-31.* Toronto: Champlain Society.

Forge, Anthony
1967 The Abelam Artist. In *Social Organization: Essays Presented to Raymond Firth*. M. Freedman, ed. Pp. 65-84. Chicago: Aldine.

Gasté, Alphonse
1960 Father Gasté Meets the Inland Eskimo. *Eskimo* 57: 3-15.

Gerbrands, Adrian
1967 *Wow-ipits: Eight Asmat Wood-Carvers of New Guinea.* The Hague and Paris: Mouton.

Guldbeck, E.
1969 Leather: Its Understanding and Care. *Technical Leaflet*. Cooperstown, New York: New York State Historical Association.

Haeberlin, Herman, J. A. Teit, and H. A. Roberts under the Direction of Franz Boas
1928 Coiled Basketry in British Columbia and Surrounding Region. *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for 1919-1924.* Vol. 41: 119-484.

Hail, Barbara A., and Kate Duncan
1989 *Out of the North: The Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University.* Studies in Anthropology and Material Culture 5. Bristol, Rhode Island: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology.

Hammersley, Martyn, and Paul Atkinson
1983 *Ethnography, Principles in Practice*. New York: Tavistock Publications.

Hanson, F. Allan
1983 When the Map is the Territory: Art in Maori Culture. In *Structure and Cognition in Art*. D. K. Washburn, ed. Pp. 74-89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harper, Douglas
1994 On the Authority of the Image, Visual Methods at the Crossroads. In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. Pp. 403-412. London: Sage Publications.

Harper, Francis
1964 *Caribou Eskimos of the upper Kazan River, Keewatin.* Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas.

1955 *The barren ground caribou of Keewatin*. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas.

Harrison, Julia D.
1985 *Métis: People Between Two Worlds.* Vancouver/Toronto: The Glenbow-Alberta Institute and Douglas & McIntyre.

Hartman, Russell, and Jan Musial
1987 *Navajo Pottery, Traditions and Innovations*. Flagstaff, Arizona: Northlands Publishing.

Hatt, Gudmund
1969 Arctic Skin Clothing in Eurasia and America: An Ethnographic Study. *Arctic Anthropology* 5(2): 1-132.

1916 Moccasins and their Relation to Arctic Footwear. *Memoirs American Anthropological Association* 3: 149-250.

Hearne, Samuel
1971 *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean*. Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd.

Helm, June, and David Damas
1963 The Contact Traditional All-Native Community of the Canadian North. *Anthropologica,* n.s. 5: 9-21.

Helser, M. D.
1929 *Farm Meats*. New York: Macmillan Company.

Hildebrandt, Walter, and Scott Thorpe
1993 *Oral and Archival History Cold Lake Provincial Park*. Unpublished manuscript prepared for the Alberta Parks Service and the Cold Lake First Nations.

Hill, Sarah H.
1997 *Weaving New Worlds, Southeastern Cherokee Women and their Basketry.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Himmelheber, Hans
1967 The Present Status of Sculptural Art Among the Tribes of the Ivory Coast. In *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts, Proceedings of the 1966 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society.* June Helm, ed. Pp. 192-199. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Hopewood, Victor, ed.
1971 *David Thompson Travels in Western North America, 1784-1812*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.

Idiens, Dale

1979 *A Catalogue of Northern Athapaskan Indian Artifacts in the Collection of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh*. Art & Archaeology 3. Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Museum.

1974 The Athapaskan Indian Collection in the Royal Scottish Museum. In *The Athapaskans: Strangers of the North*. Pp. 13-14. Ottawa: National Museum of Man.

Ingstad, Helge

1992 *The Land of Feast and Famine*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Irimoto, Takashi

1981 The Chipewyan Caribou Hunting System. *Arctic Anthropology* XVIII (1): 44-56.

Jacknis, Ira

1995 *Carving Traditions of Northwest California*. Berkley: Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California.

Jacobi, Arnold

1931 Das Rentier, Eine Zoologische Monographie der Gattung Rangifer. In *Zoologischer Anzeiger Supplement*. Vol. 96. Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft.

James, H. L.

1986 *Rugs and Posts, The Story of Navajo Weaving and Indian Trading*. West Chester, Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing Ltd.

Johansen, Frits

1921 Insect Life on the Western Arctic Coast of America. In *Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18, Volume 3 Insects, Part K*. Pp. 1k-61k. Ottawa: Thomas Mulvey, King's Printer.

Kelly, Isabel T.

1995 The Carvers Art of the Indians of Northwestern California. Reprint In *Carving Traditions of Northwest California*. Ira Jacknis. Berkley, ed. Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California.

Kelsall, John P.

1968 *The Migratory Barren-Ground Caribou of Canada*. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development/Canadian Wildlife Service.

1960 Co-operative Studies of Barren-Ground Caribou 1957-58. *Wildlife Management Bulletin Series 1, Number 15*. Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, National Parks Branch, Canadian Wildlife Service.

Leach, Edmund R.
1965 *Political Systems of Highland Burma, A Study of Kachin Social Structure*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Lessard, F.
1991 Pictographic Sioux Beadwork, A Re-examination. *American Indian Art Magazine* 16(4): 70-74.

Lyford, Carrie
1943 Ojibwa Crafts. *Indian Handicraft Series No.* 5. Washington, D.C.: Branch of Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior.

MacFarlane, Roderick
1908 *Notes on the Mammals and Birds of Northern Canada*. Toronto: William Briggs.

Manitoba Conservation
2000 *Geographical Names of Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Conservation.

Manning, Thomas H., and E. W. Manning
1944 The Preparation of skins and clothing in the eastern Canadian Arctic. *The Polar Record* 4(28): 156-169.

Marcus, George E., and Michael M. J. Fischer
1999 *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marles, Robin, Christina Clavelle, Leslie Monteleone, Natalie Tays, and Donna Burns
2000 *Aboriginal Plant Use in Canada's Northwest Boreal Forest*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Marriot, Alice
1958 Ribbon Appliqué Work of North American Indians, Part 1. *Oklahoma Anthropological Society Bulletin*, No. 6. Pp. 49-59. Oklahoma City.

1948 *Maria: the Potter of San Ildefanso*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Marshall, Catherine, and Gretchen B. Rossman
1999 *Designing Qualitative Research*. Thousands Oaks, California: Sage Publication.

Mason, Otis T.
1896 Primitive Travel and Transportation". *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1894*: 237-593.

Mattes, Catherine
2001 Metis Perspectives in Contemporary Art. In *Metis Legacy*, Lawrence J. Barkwell, Leah Dorion, and Darren R. Préfontaine, eds. Pp. 189-192. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications.

Maxwell Museum of Anthropology
1974 *Seven Families in Pueblo Pottery*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

McFadyen, Kay; Linda Capjack; and Betty Crown
1998 The Business of Secondhand Clothing: Environmental and Ethical Issues. *Canadian Home Economics Journal* 48(4): 121-126.

McInnes, William
1913 The Basins of the Nelson and Churchill Rivers. *Geological Survey Memoir No. 30*. Ottawa: Department of Mines.

McKinnon, Aileen
1992 "Dress in Red River Settlement, 1815 to 1835". Thesis, University of Alberta.

Minister of Supply and Services Canada
1978 *Canada Gazetteer Atlas*. Ottawa: Macmillan of Canada.

Mintz, Sidney
1996 The Anthropological Interview and the Life History. In *Oral History, an Interdisciplinary Anthology*. David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baun, eds. Pp. 298-305. Walnut Creek: AltaMira.

Morin, Gail
1996 *Metis Families, A Genealogical Compendium*. Pawtucket, Rhode Island: Quintin Publications.

Muecke, M.
1994 On the Evaluation of Ethnographies. In *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods*. Janice M. Morse, ed. Pp.187-200. Thousands Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Myers, Thomas, P.
1993 The Cook Collection, A Turn of the Century Collection from the Nebraska Frontier. *American Indian Art Magazine* 19(1): 60-67, 102.

Neptune, Jennifer Sapiel

2002 *Brilliantly Beaded, Northeastern Native American Beadwork.* http://www.umaine.edu/hudsonmuseum, September 12, 2002.

Newton, Douglas

1961 *Art Styles of the Papuan Gulf.* New York: Museum of Primitive Art.

Nicks, Trudy

1985 Mary Anne's Dilemma: The Ethnohistory of an Ambivalent Identity. *Canadian Ethnic Studies.* Vol. 17(2): 103-114.

Oakes, Jillian

1991 Copper and Caribou Inuit Skin Clothing Production. *Canadian Ethnology Service Mercury Series Paper No. 118.* Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Oakes, Jillian, and Rick Riewe

1995 *Our Boots, An Inuit Women's Art.* Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre.

O'Neale, Lila M.

1932 *Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers.* University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 32(1): 1-184.

Orchard, William

1985 Indian Porcupine-Quill and Beadwork. In *Introduction to American Indian Art.* John Sloan and Oliver LaFarge, eds. Pp.191-201. Glorieta, New Mexico: Rio Grande Press.

1975 *Beads and Beadwork of the American Indians.* New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

Parker, Gerald R.

1972 Biology of the Kaminuriak Population of the Barren-Ground Caribou, Part 1. *Caribou Wildlife Service Report Series #20.*

Phillips, Ruth B. and Christopher B. Steiner

1999 Art, Authenticity and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter. In *Unpacking Culture, Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds.* Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, eds. Pp. 3-19. Berkley: University of California Press.

Powers, Willow Roberts

2001 *Navajo Trading, The End of an Era.* Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Preble, Edward Alexander
1902 *A Biological Investigation of the Hudson Bay Region.* U.S. Department of Agriculture Biological Survey North American Fauna. No. 22. Washington.

Price, Sally
1989 *Primitive Art in Civilized Places*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Racette, Sherry Farrell
2001 Beads, Silk and Quills: The Clothing and Decorative Arts of the Metis. In *Metis Legacy*, Lawrence J. Barkwell, Leah Dorion, and Darren R. Préfontaine, eds. Pp. 181-188. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications.

Riewe, Rick, Luke Suluk, and Lorraine Brandson
1989 Inuit land use and occupancy in Northern Manitoba. *The Northern Review* (3-4): 85-95.

Roberts, Willow
1987 *Stokes Carson, Twentieth Century Trading on the Navajo Reservation.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Robertson, J. D.
1955 *Caribou Slaughter – Duck Lake*. Manitoba Game Branch Officer's Report. Sept. 26, 1955. MS.

Ross, David, and Peter Usher
1986 *From the Roots Up: Economic Development as if Community Mattered.* Croton-on-Hudson, New York: Bootstrap Press.

Ross, Bernard R.
1861 A Popular Treatise on the Fur-Bearing Animals of the Mackenzie River District. *Canadian Naturalist and Geologist* 6: 5-36.

Rossman, Gretchen B., and Sharon F. Rallis
1997 *Learning in the Field, An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oakes, California: Sage Publications.

Russell, Frank
1898 *Explorations in the far north, being the report of an expedition under the auspices of the University of Iowa during the years 1892, '93, '94.* Iowa City: University of Iowa.

Saskatchewan Indian Arts and Crafts Advisory Committee
n.d. *Smoke Tanning, Traditional Indian Method of Preparing Animal Hides.*

Sarris, Greg

1994 *Mabel McKay, Weaving the Dream*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Scheffel, Richard, ed.

1984 *ABC's of Nature, A Family Answer Book*. Pleasantville, New York: The Reader's Digest Association, Inc.

Schlick, Mary Dodds

1994 *Columbia River Basketry, Gift of the Ancestors, Gift of the Earth*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Silversides, Brock

1989 *Gateway to the North, A Pictorial History of Prince Albert*. Saskatoon: Western Producers Prairie Books.

Simpson, George

1938 *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report*. ed. by E. E. Rich. Toronto: Champlain Society.

Skinner, Alanson

1911 The Eastern Cree and the Northern Salteaux. *American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers*. Vol. 9: 1-175.

Slaney, Deborah C.

1996 *Blue Gem, White Metal, Carvings and Jewelry from the C. G. Wallace Collection*. Phoenix: The Heard Museum.

Smith, James G. E.

1981a Western Woods Cree. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, Subarctic*. June Helm, ed. Pp. 256-270. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

1981b Chipewyan. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, Subarctic*. June Helm, ed. Pp. 271-284. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

1981c Chipewyan, Cree and Inuit relations west of Hudson Bay, 1714-1955. *Ethnohistory* 28(2): 133-156.

1979 Indian Eskimo Relations: An Introduction. *Arctic Anthropology* 16(2): 1-2.

1978a The Emergence of the Micro-urban Village Among the Caribou-eater Chipewyan. *Human Organization* 37(1): 38-49.

1978b Economic Uncertainty in an "Original Affluent Society". Caribou and Caribou Eater Chipewyan Adaptive Strategies. *Arctic Anthropology* 15(1): 68-88.

1976a Local Band Organization of the Caribou-eater Chipewyan in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries. *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 6(1): 72-90.

1976b On the Territorial Distribution of the Western Cree. In *Papers of the Seventh Algonquian Conference 1975.* William Cowan, ed. Pp. 414-435. Ottawa: Carleton University.

1976c Local Band Organization of the Caribou Eater Chipewyan. *Arctic Anthropology* 13(1): 12-24.

1976d Notes on the Wittiko. In *Papers of the Seventh Algonquian Conference, 1975*. William Cowan, ed. Pp. 18-38. Ottawa: Carleton University.

1976e Introduction: The Historical and Cultural Position of the Chipewyan. *Arctic Anthropology* 13(1): 1-5.

1975a The Ecological Basis of Chipewyan Socio-territorial Organization. In Vol. 2 of Proceedings: Northern Athabaskan Conference 1971, 2 Vols. A. McFadyen Clark, ed. Pp. 389-461. *National Museum of Man, Mercury Series. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper* 27. Ottawa.

1975b Preliminary Notes on the Rocky Cree of Reindeer Lake. In Contributions to Canadian Ethnology, 1975. David B. Carlisle. ed. Pp.171-189. *National Museum of Man, Mercury Series. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper* 31. Ottawa.

1970 The Chipewyan Hunting Group in a Village Context. *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 2(1): 60-66.

Smith, James G. E., and Ernest S. Burch, Jr.

1979 Chipewyan and Inuit in the Central Canadian Subarctic, 1613-1977. *Arctic Anthropology* 16(2): 76-101.

Smythe, Terry

1968 Thematic Study of the Fur Trade in the Canadian West: 1670-1870. Unpublished Preliminary Report prepared for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Canadian National Historic Sites Service, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

Sontag, M. Suzanne, and Margaret M. Bubolz

1988 A Human Ecological Perspective for Integration in Human Ecology. In *Human Ecology Research and Application, 2^{nd} International Conference of SHE*. Richard J. Borden ed. in collaboration with Jamien Jacobs and Gerald L. Young. Pp. 117-128. College Park, Maryland: Society for Human Ecology.

Speck, Frank

1937 Analysis of Eskimo and Indian skin-dressing methods in Labrador. *Ethnos* 2(6): 345-371.

Sprague D. N. and R. P. Frye, compilers

1983 *The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation, The Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement 1820-1900*. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications.

Spry, Irene M.

1988 "Cook, William Hemmings". In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume VII 1836-1850*. Francess Halfpenny, ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Stake, Robert

1998 Case Studies In *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. Pp. 86-109. London: Sage Publications.

1994 Case Studies In *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. Pp. 236-247. London: Sage Publications.

Stenton, Douglas R.

1991 The adaptive significance of caribou winter clothing for arctic hunter-gathers. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 15(1): 3-28.

Sturtevant, William C.

1967 Seminole Men's Clothing. In *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts, Proceedings of the 1966 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*. June Helm, ed. Pp. 160-174. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

T. Eaton Company Ltd.

1894 *T. Eaton & Co's Catalogue Fall/Winter1894-95*. Toronto: T. Eaton Company Ltd.

1888 *T. Eaton & Co's Catalogue Fall/Winter1888-89*. Toronto: T. Eaton Company Ltd.

Teiwes, Helga

1996 *Hopi Basket Weaving, Artistry in Natural Fibers*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Thompson, David

1916 *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America 1784-1812*. J. B. Tyrrell, ed. Toronto: The Champlain Society.

Thompson, Judy

1994 *From the Land, Two Hundred Years of Dene Clothing* Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

1990 *Pride of the Indian Wardrobe, Northern Athapaskan Footwear*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

1987 No Little Variety of Ornament: Northern Athabaskan Artistic Tradition. In *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First People*. Pp. 133-168. Calgary: Glenbow Museum.

1983 Turn-of-the-Century Métis Decorative Art from the Frederick Bell Collection. *American Indian Art Magazine* 8(4): 36-45.

Thompson, Robert Francis

1973 Yoruba Artistic Criticism. In *The Traditional Artist in African Society*, Warren d'Azevedo, ed. Pp. 19-61. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Tracy, William

1991 Collecting Contemporary Native Arts in the Boreal Forest of Western Canada. *Arctic Anthropology* 28(1): 101-109.

1989 Native Craft Production in Brochet, Manitoba, 1978-1980. In *Out of the North, The Subarctic Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology*. B. Hail and K. Duncan eds. Pp. 109-119. Bristol, Rhode Island: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University.

Turner, Geoffrey J.

1955 *Hair Embroidery in Siberia and North America*. Oxford: University of Oxford Press.

Turner, Jane, ed.

1996 *The Dictionary of Art*. New York: Groves Dictionaries Inc.

Turner, Lucien M.

1894 Ethnology of the Ungava District Hudson Bay Territory, Indians and Eskimos in the Quebec Labrador Peninsula. In *Eleventh Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, 1889-1890*. Pp. 165-350. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Turner, Nancy

1998 *Plant Technology of the First Peoples in British Columbia*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Turnor, Philip

1934 *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor*. J. B. Tyrrell, ed. Toronto: Champlain Society.

Tyrrell, Joseph Burr

1894 Winter Home of the Barren Ground Caribou. *Forest and Stream* LXII (4): 70.

VanStone, James

1965 The Changing Culture of the Snowdrift Chipewyan, *National Museum of Man Bulletin* 209, (Anthropology No. 74). Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Visvader, John

1986 Philosophy and Human Ecology. In *Human Ecology: A Gathering of Perspectives. First International Conference of SHE.* Richard J. Borden, ed. in collaboration with Jamien Jacobs and Gerald L. Young. Pp. 117-127. College Park, Maryland: Society for Human Ecology.

Voorhis, Ernest

1928 *Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies*. Ottawa: Department of the Interior, Natural Resources Intelligence Services.

Warner, John Anson

1990 Continuity and Change in Modern Plains Cree Moccasins. *American Indian Art Magazine* 15(3): 36-47.

Washburn, Dorothy Koster

1990 Style, Classification and Ethnicity: Design Categories on Bakuba Raffia Cloth. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, Volume 80, Part 3.* Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

1986a Pattern Symmetry and Colored Repetition in Cultural Contexts. In *Symmetry: Unifying Human Understanding.* Istvan Hargittai, ed. Pp. 767-781. New York: Pergamon.

1986b Symmetry Analysis of Yurok, Karok, and Hupa Indian Basket Designs. *Emperical Studies of the Arts* 4(1): 19-45.

1984a Dealers and Collectors of Indian Baskets at the Turn of the Century in California: Their Effect on the Ethnographic Sample. *Empirical Studies of the Arts* 2(1): 51-74.

1984b The Usefulness of Typological Analysis for Understanding Aspects of Southwestern Prehistory: Some Conflicting Returns from Design Analysis. In Regional Analysis of Prehistoric Ceramic Variation: Contemporary Studies of the Cibola Whitewares, A. Sullivan and H. Hantman, eds. Pp. 120-134. *Anthropological Research Papers,* No. 31. Tempe: Arizona State University.

1983 Symmetry analysis of ceramic design: two tests of the method on Neolithic material from Greece and the Aegean. In *Structure and Cognition in Art.* D. Washburn, ed. Pp. 138-164. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1978 A Symmetry Classification of Pueblo Ceramic Design. In *Discovering Past Behaviour: Experiments in the Archaeology of the American Southwest.* P. Grebinger, ed. Pp. 102-121. New York: Gordon and Breach.

1977 *A Symmetry Analysis of Upper Gila Area Ceramic Design.* Cambridge: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

Washburn, Dorothy K., and Ronald W. Crowe
1992 *Symmetrics of Culture: Theory and Pattern of Plane Pattern Analysis.* Seattle & London: University of Washington Press.

Webber, Alika Podolinsky
1989 *North American Indian and Eskimo Footwear: A Typology and Glossary.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press and the Bata Shoe Museum.

Westney, Ouida E., Elizabeth W. Brabble, and Cecile H. Edwards
1988 Human Ecology: Concepts and Perspectives. In *Human Ecology Research and Applications*. Richard J. Borden and Jamien Jacobs, ed. Pp 129-137. College Park, Maryland: Society for Human Ecology.

Whitney, Caspar
1896 On snowshoes to the barren grounds Part II. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* XCII (DXLVIII): 208-223.

Williams, Lester L.
1990*C. N. Cotton and His Navajo Blankets*. Albuquerque: Avanyu Publishing Inc.

APPENDIX A

CITATIONS FOR FIGURE 5: AN ABBREVIATED FAMILY HISTORY OF PHILOMENE UMPHERVILLE

[1] Morin 1996: 218

[2] Beaumont 1992: 170; Morin 1996: 218; Spry 1988: 206-207

[3] Beaumont 1992: 170

[4] Beaumont 1992: 170

[5] Morin 1996: 218

[6] Morin 1996: 221

[7] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Census Return: E.5/1; London Office Records: A.36/5; Morin 1996: 219

[8] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1a,fo.109; London Office Records: A 36/5

[9] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Census Return: E.5/1a,fo.150; Morin 1996: 224

[10] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1a,fo.150; London Office Records: A 35/5

[11] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1a,fo.150; Morin 1996: 224

[12] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1a,fo.150

[13] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1a,fo.44; Red River Settlement Census Returns E.51/1, 281; Morin 1996: 221

[14] Morin 1996: 224

[15] Morin 1996: 218

[16] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/2,fo.152; London Office Records: will A.36/1a

[17] HBC Archives, Red River Census Returns: E.5/1; London Office Records: A.36/5; Morin 1996: 219

[18] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register to Baptisms, Marriages and Burials: E.4/1a,fo.150; Morin 1996: 224

[19] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1a,fo. 44; Morin 1996: 223

[20] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1a,fo. 46d; Morin 1996: 223

[21] HBC Archives, London Office Records: A.36/5

[22] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1a,fo.44

[23] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.55

[24] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.71; Morin 1996: 219

[25] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.60

[26] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.55

[27] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal Certificate

[28] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.82d

[29] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.100d

[30] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.159

[31] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.174

[32] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.55

[33] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.69d; Morin 1996: 219

[34] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.55

[35] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.118d

[36] HBC Archives, Red River Settlement Index and Register of Baptisms: E.4/1,fo.159

[37] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Marriage and Baptismal Certificates

[38] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal, Marriage, and Death Certificates

[39] HBC Archives, Records of Service: R33/40A/2; Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal and Marriage Certificates

[40] Carole Thorne, Chancery Office, Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas, personal communication, August 11, 2000

[41] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Marriage, Baptismal, and Death Certificates

[42] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal Certificate; P. Umpherville, personal communication, August 29, 2000

[43] Carole Thorne, Chancery Office, Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas, personal communication, August 11, 2000

[44] Philomene Umpherville, personal communication, August 12, 2000

[45] Philomene Umpherville, personal communication, August 12, 2000

[46] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal Certificate

[47] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal Certificate

[48] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal Certificate

[49] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal and Marriage Certificates

[50] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Marriage Certificate

[51] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal, Marriage, Death Certificates

[52] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal, Marriage, and Death Certificates

[53] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Marriage and Baptismal Certificates

[54] Philomene Umpherville, personal communication, August 12, 2000

[55] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Marriage and Baptismal Certificates

[56] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Marriage and Baptismal Certificates

[57] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal Certificate

[58] Denise Umpherville, personal communication, August 13, 2002. This marriage is not the first time the fur trading families of the Cooks and the Umphervilles were so joined. In 1869 Edward Cook, son of Joseph Cook (1788-1848) and Catherine Sinclair (1801-1881) married Mary Humphreyville at Cumberland House (Provincial Archives of Manitoba, RG15, DII, 8. Land Records, Half-Breeds and Original White Settlers, Applications of 1885 made by Northeast Half-Breeds 1885).

[59] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[60] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[61] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[62] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[63] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal Certificate

[64] Carole Thorne, Chancery Office, Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas, personal communication, August 11, 2000.

[65] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[66] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[67] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[68] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[69] Parish Cemetery, Plantagenet, Quebec

[70] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[71] Archdiocese of Keewatin – Le Pas Baptismal Certificate

[72] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, April 7, 2002

[73] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, August 13, 2002

[74] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, April 7, 2002

[75] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[76] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, April 7, 2002

[77] Sandra Umpherville, personal communication, June 27, 2002

[78] Sandra Umpherville, personal communication, June 27, 2002

[79] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[80] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[81] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[82] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, August 13, 2002

[83] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[84] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[85] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, July 8, 2002

[86] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, August 13, 2002

[87] Sandra Umpherville, personal communication, June 27, 2002

[88] Sandra Umpherville, personal communication, June 27, 2002

[89] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, August 13, 2002

[90] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, August 13, 2002

[91] Philip Umpherville, personal communication, August 13, 2002